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Terry Waite the 'key' to hostage exchange

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — The fate of the Anglican Church envoy Terry Waite is the key to hostage exchange negotiations between Israel and Lebanese Shi'ite Muslim kidnappers. And because there is little chance of Waite's captors freeing him soon, there is also little chance of an exchange deal in the near future, according to well-informed sources here.

Only if those holding Waite — believed to be the original Islamic Jihad group — can be persuaded by Amal leader Nabih Berri to release him, the sources said, can the way be cleared for a deal also involving the four kidnapped Beirut University College professors and Israel's captured airman.

While such an exchange is considered a possibility — albeit a faint one — the source dismissed out of hand talk of a deal that would provide for the release of all Western hostages in Lebanon.

The 20-plus hostages are being held in separate South Beirut hideouts by various, often opposing, extremist groups, the sources explained. And no amount of negotiations, whether conducted via the International Red Cross, Berri, Syrian President Hafez Assad or anyone else, could possibly bring an agreement that would satisfy the various aims of these disparate groups.

Equally, the sources added, there can be no deal that does not include Waite, because Israel must use the leverage of its 400 prisoners to obtain his freedom, or face a barrage of Western public and diplomatic protest.

Britain has always maintained that it will never bargain with the kidnappers, but if an Israeli deal brought Waite's release, neither the British nor indeed the European Economic Community would be in any position to criticize it. It is believed here that the Islamic Jihad group holding the

Anglican envoy also holds U.S. journalist Terry Anderson and three French hostages.

The problem facing negotiators is that this group has nothing whatsoever to do with Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, which kidnapped the professors and is seeking the release of 400 prisoners.

Waite's group is dominated by the Mugniyah family whose only goal is to secure the release of cousin Mustafa Youssef, jailed in Kuwait with 16 fellow conspirators following a series of bomb attacks on American and French embassies there.

Berri's task — for it is the Amal leader who has again emerged as the key mediator — is to persuade the Mugniyahs to free their captives for the sake of the common good. Given the Mugniyahs' evident stubbornness — they have been holding hostages for two years now — Berri's chances of success, and thus of any exchange deal, are thought to be slim.

Shultz: 'U.S. wants no deals'

Berri contacts Red Cross to arrange deal

Post Middle East Staff
and Agencies

Shi'ite Amal leader Nabih Berri said yesterday in an interview with Cable News Network that he had already begun informal contacts with the International Red Cross to arrange the exchange of an Israeli airman and the four foreign hostages for 400 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails.

But U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, in an interview Wednesday night, said the U.S. wanted "no deals" to trade the four hostages for Arab prisoners.

"We believe in no deals," Shultz said. "We don't encourage other countries to make deals. We discourage it."

Shultz, appearing on a television news programme, was asked if he had expressed the U.S. position to Israel.

"They know very well our views

and your programme is another way of expressing it," he said.

Shultz said the U.S. government opposed any deal because it would encourage kidnappers to take more hostages, and because kidnappers had to pay for what he called their "terrible crime."

"We should band together and stand for the principle of no deals," Shultz said.

In an affidavit presented yesterday to the High Court of Justice (See story below), Israel dismissed reports of a secret deal to swap Arab prisoners for the hostages and the airman as "completely baseless."

Berri, meanwhile, interviewed in Damascus, said he had asked Amal to prepare a list of the 400 prisoners being demanded by the captors.

"We started informal contacts with the International Red Cross regarding the release of the Israeli navigator and the four American hostages, and 400 Lebanese and

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Coalition spat continues

Peres blasts Shamir over peace parley

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Vice Premier Shimon Peres continued his campaign of coalition brinkmanship yesterday in what observers described as a "tough and aggressive" speech before a meeting of the Labour Party Bureau in Tel Aviv. Peres blasted Prime Minister Shamir and the Likud, but told his colleagues: "I do not propose... dissolving the government."

Reacting to Shamir's statement to *The Washington Post* that supporting an international conference was Peres's "hobby," Peres said that opposing such a conference was the prime minister's hobby.

"If Shamir says that support for the conference means support for a return to the 1967 borders," Peres continued, "then I say that whoever opposes the conference is opposed to the peace process."

Peres also refuted Shamir's statement in *The Washington Post* yesterday that he had not been "very well informed" of the frigate affair.

Peres said that then-Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche was "the first" to be involved in the affair, and he had reported all the details to then foreign minister Shamir.

Sources in both parties said last night that efforts would be made over the weekend to ease the mounting tensions between Labour and the Likud before Shamir's scheduled departure for the U.S. on Sunday. But they admitted that the personal strain between Peres and Shamir as revealed in the past two days may have caused irreparable damage.

Labour ministers intend to raise the potentially explosive issue of the international conference at Sunday's cabinet meeting. But Shamir, as prime minister, has the final say on the cabinet agenda.

The Tehiya Party decided yesterday to support a call for early elections "in order to save the settlements in the West Bank," Yehuda Ben-Meir of the National Religious Party told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that his party would also support early elections if the government should fall. "All this talk of a possible narrow coalition led by either the Likud or Labour is mere nonsense," he said. "In this Knesset such a coalition is impossible."

Exhorting his colleagues to "stop being afraid and to stop being depressed," Peres said that Labour should "go out and explain [its] position to the public."

Responding to cries of "what is there to explain?" Peres said loudly and vehemently: "Stop apologizing all the time. Don't talk of elections. Let the other side talk of elections. Talk about inflation and the kibbutzim."

"Is Israel without kibbutzim and moshavim the same Israel?" he asked. "Is there as long a queue for the kibbutzim and for the Negev as there is in front of the American Embassy?"

"It appears that the Likud wants to dismantle the government," said Peres, adding: "If they want to do so, let them, it is their right."

Labour Party secretary-general Uzi Baran, who believes that this is an inopportune moment for elections, admitted that there were "differences" on this matter within the party.

Describing the situation on the coalition as "critical," Baran set three conditions for Labour's remaining in the government: maintaining an inflation-free economy; aiding the "productive sectors," and continuing the peace process. He said that it was still "too early" to determine

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Going to the brink?

The Labour-Likud controversy over the convening of an international conference for Middle East peace "contains the seeds of a potential government-toppling crisis, but only if these are watered by a solid, formal Jordanian commitment to embark on direct negotiations with Israel."

This was how one Likud hierarchy yesterday portrayed the current spat with Labour, which over the past fortnight has been marked by progressively more quarrelsome statements by the party leaders and by clear hints that the two-and-a-half-year-old unity government is fast approaching its end.

ANALYSIS BENNY MORRIS

The arguments for and against the conference are clear: Labour leader Shimon Peres maintains, first and foremost, that it is "the only game in town;" that Jordan will agree to join the peace process only within the framework of such an international gathering; indeed, that the peace process will wither on the branch in the protracted absence of any movement, of which the conference represents the only chance; and that the conference will, in any case, serve merely as a non-decisive framework and "shoe-horn" for substantive face-to-face negotiations between Israelis and Arabs.

Shamir, on the other hand, believes that the conference, whatever its initial terms of reference and regardless of Peres's preconditions for its convocation, will inevitably devolve into an anti-Israeli assembly composed of an Arab-Soviet-European majority, a hesitant U.S., and a cornered Israel; that the Soviets and the PLO will participate; that disputed matters will be referred to the plenum by the two sides for decision; and that the outcome will be an imposed solution in which Israel will be ordered to return to the 1967 borders and to resign itself to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories evacuated.

These mutually exclusive views have been in play since 1985, when Peres tossed the idea — long propagated by the Soviet Union and various Arab states — into the political arena.

(Continued on Back Page)



A fighter of the New Peoples Army (NPA) bids farewell to his family in the central Philippines before going back to the hills to join other communist rebels in a renewed struggle against President Corazon Aquino's government following a 60-day ceasefire. (Reuters)

Mock suing 'unknown party' over forgery

Cypriots baffled by postmark on 'Mock letter'

By DAVID HOROVITZ and ILONA HENRY
Jerusalem Post Correspondents

A spokesman for Cyprus High Commissioner Tasos Panayides told *The Jerusalem Post* in London yesterday that he was "completely baffled" by the results of a careful examination of the postmark on the envelope received by *The Post*. The Cypriots determined that the envelope had been stamped on the commission's franking machine.

In Vienna, meanwhile, Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock filed a suit against "unknown parties" for forging the letter purportedly sent by

him to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. "I cannot understand how this happened," said Commission spokesman Sotirios Georgallios. "There is no one here with any ties to Austria. Nor is there anyone working here who could have had access to such a letter."

He was referring to a copy of a letter purportedly sent by Mock to Thatcher, which was published by *The Post* on Tuesday. The copy was mailed to *The Post* from the Cyprus High Commission here, it was conclusively established yesterday.

There was also no reason for any of the

commission staff to forge such a letter, the spokesman added. "I don't know why, but maybe somebody is trying to implicate Cyprus in this affair."

Mock has denied writing the letter, in which it is suggested that Austrian President Kurt Waldheim should be persuaded to resign, and Thatcher's office has denied receiving such a letter. Thatcher's acknowledging signature, which appears on a separate sheet of paper attached to the letter, must therefore be a forgery. Downing Street said.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Fatah arms-smuggling ring smashed in Hebron area

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Security forces have smashed a ring of Arab truck drivers from the Hebron area who smuggled arms into the West Bank from Jordan.

Sources in Hebron said the drivers were arrested in the past week.

The drivers were recruited by Fatah and smuggled the weapons in trucks used to transport farm produce from the West Bank to Jordan, an IDF spokesman said. Military sources said the drivers had smuggled explosives.

The Allenby and Adam bridges have been ordered closed to truck

traffic today and tomorrow to improve security measures, though other travellers will be allowed to proceed as usual.

A fleet of 420 specially outfitted trucks transports farm goods from the West Bank across the Jordan bridges. Fifty trucks are from the Hebron area. The vehicles include special features to prevent concealment of weapons and to facilitate examination and dismantling of their parts.

Security forces are investigating how the smugglers managed to conceal the weapons despite the stringent security checks.

The great Judaica rip-off

By DAVID RUDGE
and BERNARD JOSEPHS

When Israel Museum expert Iris Fishof examined an antique parchment *ketuba* (wedding contract) brought to her by its proud new owner she noticed something familiar about it.

A few minutes later she was passing on the bad news. The document was not only a fake, it was a copy of one in the museum's collection.

Fishof was once again dealing with the sad consequences of a multi-million dollar racket in forged Judaica.

The crooks are dealers who pass off imported and home made repli-

cas of antique Jewish handicrafts as the real thing — and make a fat living on the proceeds. They can pick up hundreds — sometimes thousands —

Full report
page 5

of dollars for items worth very little.

The victims are usually inexperienced collectors — often tourists — whose enthusiasm makes them easy prey for the smooth-tongued tricksters populating the rough end of the antique trade.

Experts, and respectable dealers

have told *The Jerusalem Post* that this lucrative racket is now menacing the reputation of the mainly honest Judaica trade. And they warn that the forgers are becoming more and more sophisticated. "Even the most knowledgeable collector can be caught," they say.

One expert estimated that up to 70 per cent of the Judaica on sale in the shops are fakes. And much of it is being sold as genuine.

Fishof, curator of the Israel Museum's Judaica department, would not talk percentages. But she confirmed: "With Judaica being such a big hit we are in a really dangerous situation."

U.S. Jews uneasy over Leumi affair

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The role of World Zionist Organization executive chairman Arye Dulzin in the Bank Leumi scandal has caused confusion and anger among leading American Jewish fund-raisers. Privately, some are calling for his resignation.

"You can be sure of one thing," said Alfred Fleishman of St. Louis. "There is a very uncomfortable feeling in the Diaspora, and it is deep."

In 1984, Fleishman prepared a 50-page report on the working of the Jewish Agency which was commissioned by Charles Hottelberger, chairman of the board of governors of the Jewish Agency. In that report, Fleishman was critical of many aspects of the Jewish Agency, espe-

cially the "many different hats" worn by Dulzin, who is also chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

In an angry letter to the United Israel Appeal in New York late last month, Fleishman complained about the impact that the \$4.4 million severance payment and \$30,000 a month pension awarded to Bank Leumi's ex-chairman Ernest Japhet authorized by Dulzin — was having among American Jews.

"There was already a great deal of dissatisfaction with the work and leadership of Mr. Dulzin and the presumed and real power he wielded before this serious episode," Fleishman said. "His lack of responsibility — to put it mildly — action in the case of one of Israel's largest banks... needs

(Continued on Page 19)

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The New York Times

WEEKLY REVIEW

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

	12.2.87	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	3	7	43	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	2	6	41	Cloudy
BUENOS AIRES	19	26	82	Clear
CHICAGO	-4	28	11	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	-2	28	37	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	6	43	75	Cloudy
GENEVA	3	7	41	Cloudy
Helsinki	7	19	28	Cloudy
HONGKONG	19	26	33	Cloudy
Johannesburg	13	25	28	Cloudy
LONDON	11	12	54	Rain
MADRID	5	41	75	Cloudy
MONTREAL	-15	5	21	Super
NEW YORK	-1	30	51	Clear
OSLO	-2	23	30	Cloudy
PARIS	4	29	27	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	1	29	27	Cloudy
SÃO PAULO	18	27	71	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	1	2	39	Cloudy
TOKYO	17	23	33	Cloudy
TORONTO	9	16	34	Cloudy
VIENNA	-2	28	5	Cloudy
ZURICH	5	41	75	Cloudy

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Pleasant.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	53	5-16	19
Golan	33	8-17	19
Nahariya	47	6-13	16
Safed	49	—	22
Haifa Port	39	—	22
Tiberias	30	—	25
Nazareth	38	10-21	21
Afula	42	5-21	21
Shimon	35	7-18	20
Tel Aviv	69	10-20	22
B-G Airport	63	6-20	22
Jericho	75	7-24	25
Gaza	74	4-18	20
Beersheba	52	6-22	23
Eilat	23	11-27	27

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Rabbi Reuven Samuels, principal of Haifa's Leo Baeck School, will be guest speaker at a joint luncheon meeting of the city's Maritime and Engineers' Clubs, at the Engineers' Club at 1 p.m. today. Table reservations by phone, (04) 538268.

ARRIVALS

Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, from Spain, where he signed a cultural agreement between the two countries.

Mrs. Yehudit Heuber, Israel's envoy to Norway, upon completion of her tour of duty.

For the World Council of Synagogues (Conservative) 10th International Conference: Mr. Marshall Wolke, president, World Council of Synagogues; Rabbi Angel Kreiman (Chile), Vice President; Mrs. Murray Kweiler, conference chairperson; Mrs. Barbara Kassel, executive director; Rabbi Marc Lieberman, treasurer; Rabbi Kassel Acheon, president, Rabbinic Assembly; Mrs. Evelyn Auerbach, president, Women's League for Conservative Judaism.

Correction

In the article "Give me the Moonlight" in today's Magazine section, the passage on page 4, column 5 beginning "AND MOVING FROM..." and continuing to the bottom of the page should come at the end of the article and conclude with the world "Yours is mine and mine is yours" (which appear at the end of the article).

ACCIDENT. — Three persons were injured yesterday when the truck in which they were travelling overturned on the Tel Aviv-Ashtod road.

ATTORNEY

(Continued from Page One)
argued that even if the bereaved families had been involved in the incident, they had acted out of pain and frustration and should be treated with understanding.

Following a brief hearing, the three-justice panel comprising Aharon Barak, Abraham Halimi and Eliezer Goldberg, retired for a two-and-a-half-hour consultation before giving their ruling.

After the decision was read, police cleared the court, and disturbances again broke out when one of the petitioners resisted a police attempt to take him into custody for questioning.

The families continued to protest vociferously against the courts, the police and the state, shouting "Death to the terrorists." They lingered outside the court-house where they were surrounded by dozens of foreign journalists and photographers. One photographer had his camera broken.

Reacting to a suggestion that his chambers be fitted with an electronic door, Shamgar told police and court officials yesterday: "The door to the president of the Supreme Court can not be locked. It must be open to everyone."

To
Arthur Sockol
and
Frederick Douglass
Happy Birthday!

HOME NEWS

IAF hits targets near Sidon

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Israeli Air Force planes yesterday demolished Fatah installations in Miyeh Miyeh, near Sidon, but also hit several neighbouring buildings. The 10-minute attack left two civilians dead and five people wounded. Three of the five were Palestinian fighters, a Reuters correspondent at the scene said later.

According to Israeli military sources the 6 a.m. attack was directed at three buildings at the edge of Miyeh Miyeh, which served as terrorist headquarters.

The pilots reported "good hits," the IDF spokesman added.

Reuters said 10 houses had been destroyed. They had been inhabited mainly by Sunni Moslem refugees who had escaped from Tripoli during the 1985 battles with Syrian-backed militias.

The planes reportedly fired missiles during the dawn raid. Puffs of black smoke rose from the village as rescue teams and Fatah gunmen searched through the rubble for trapped people. Women and children tried to salvage belongings while bulldozers removed shattered masonry and debris to clear the main road to the village square.

The air attacks continued to concentrate on the PLO, although Shi'ite extremists were behind the

recent attacks in the south Lebanon security zone.

Military sources said here recently that the Palestinians have not been involved in the attacks on the IDF in the zone, and O/C Northern Command Aluf Yossi Peled said in an interview published in *Bamahane* this week that among the dozens killed in the security zone in the past month, none belonged to the PLO. They were either Hizbullah or Amal extremists, he said.

However, the thinking here is that although the Palestinians are now preoccupied with securing a foothold in Lebanon, in the long run they will again turn against Israel.

A-G queries Hammer on rabbis' anti-Miller plea

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Attorney-General Yosef Harish yesterday asked Religious Affairs Minister Zevulun Hammer what action he planned to take against the 52 rabbis and *dayanim* (religious court judges) who signed and circulated a petition asking the Supreme Court to register Shoshana Miller, a convert, as a Jew.

In a letter to Hammer, Harish terms the contents of the petition — which called for the "non-recognition of the Supreme Court ruling" — and its circulation "incomparably grave." The signatories of the petition have committed the criminal offence of "obstructing justice and being in contempt of court," he

said.

"From my point of view," writes Harish, the signatories are only "a step away from a criminal investigation." But, he adds, since "wholesale prosecution of over 55 rabbis will not be in the public interest, he would first like to hear what disciplinary measures Hammer intends to take.

Hammer last night congratulated Harish for "consulting" with him before ordering an investigation, and stated that he would announce his decision next week.

MK Yair Tzaban (Mapam) yesterday petitioned the High Court of Justice to order Hammer to take action against the signatories of the petition, which he says, "is an organized revolt against judges."

Justice ministry wants Shin Bet men reinstated

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Senior Justice Ministry attorneys have asked Prime Minister Shamir to instruct the head of the Shin Bet to issue a formal declaration vindicating the three GSS officers who originally exposed the bus No. 300 killings and cover-up.

In a meeting with the prime minister last Friday, Attorney-General Yosef Harish, State Attorney Yona Blattman and Deputy Attorney-General Yehudit Karp impressed

upon Shamir the need to make clear that the three had acted correctly and that their removal from office was unacceptable.

Shamir is reportedly considering the request for a formal declaration. However, he has decided to accept the Shin Bet chief's insistence that reinstating the three would cause unrest among Shin Bet personnel.

A proposal that the three be returned to a different branch of government service has also been rejected.

CYPRLOTS

(Continued from Page One)

If the letter is a forgery, it is clearly an extremely elaborate one, given the apparent authenticity of both the Austrian letterhead on the paper and Thatcher's signature.

Waldheim was this week snubbed by Belgium's King Baudouin, who let it be known that he would not serve with the Austrian president on the organizing committee of an autumn cultural festival devoted to Austria.

According to the Flemish newspaper *De Morgen*, the king had apparently tried to stop Waldheim visiting the Europa festival, though there was no official confirmation of this.

The *Independent* reported here yesterday that Waldheim is "cooped up in the Hofburg Palace, without invitations to visit anywhere." The president, said the paper, "obstinately declines to succumb to diplomatic illness, and is ridiculed for vain attempts by his friends to secure him trips."

"Cocktail parties...have become a nightmare because of the constant danger that one or all of the guests will deliver a calculated snub. Occasional over-friendly noises from Arab ambassadors only make things worse."

Mock filed a suit in Vienna yesterday against "unknown parties" for forgery of documents. This is a reac-

tion to the letter published by *The Jerusalem Post* which appeared to have been written by Mock, who is also the chairman of the Austrian People's Party.

Mock says in an interview with *Kurier*, which appears today, that he is expecting an apology from *The Jerusalem Post*, which, he claims, acted irresponsibly. "As a serious and respected paper until now, it will have to dissociate itself from manipulations like this. In view of the letter-forgery affair, the campaign of allegations against Waldheim is now clearly unveiled before the international public."

Austrian papers yesterday carried a story that other newspapers in Europe had received similar letters from Mock. But it has been ascertained that only another two copies went out: one to Luc Rosenzweig, a reporter on the French daily *Le Monde*, who published a book on Waldheim, and the other to a Jewish organization.

Reactions in Austria yesterday were calmer, except for a commentary in *Die Presse* which claimed that the action of *The Jerusalem Post* was probably counterproductive as it strengthened Waldheim's position. "The coalition partners in Austria proved to be united in their reaction to such a stupid campaign, and Waldheim looks stronger now than ever before."

BERRI

(Continued from Page One)

Palestinian prisoners," said Berri. The four "American" hostages — including one Indian with a U.S. resident's card — were to have been executed Monday night by their captors, the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine. The group postponed the threatened execution after noting that Israel had given positive signals regarding their demand for the release of 400 Arabs.

The Beirut newspaper *An-Nahar* said Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), PLO chief Yasser Arafat's top security lieutenant, had influenced Moslem kidnappers to spare the lives of the four hostages, professors kidnapped from Beirut University College on January 24.

An-Nahar said Khalaf had warned that the U.S. would "definitely

attack if any of the hostages was executed."

The Islamic Jihad is believed to be a Shi'ite group with close connections to rejectionist Palestinian factions. Israeli sources have said.

Khalaf told the Associated Press in Nicosia in a telephone interview from Tunis: "What has been published about certain contacts with certain groups, and especially the names mentioned, is inaccurate. 'However, we've been quietly pursuing this issue with all possible means, with the aim of saving all the hostages in Lebanon.'"

In other developments, Jean Obeid, a prominent Lebanese Christian politician allied with Syria, was kidnapped in Moslem West Beirut yesterday, Beirut police said.

They said gunmen in a white BMW intercepted Obeid's limousine on the seafarmer Raouche Boulevard, fired at the occupants, beat up the driver and hauled Obeid out.

Meanwhile, classes at BUC which have been suspended since the abduction of the four professors, resumed yesterday as a result of the extension of the execution deadline.

"Unfortunately, classes have to resume although we are missing four of our pillars," said BUC acting dean Raja Hajjar, a Lebanese Christian.

The hostages are Alann Steen, 47, of Boston, a communications instructor, Robert Polhill, 53, of New York City, a lecturer in accounting, Jesse Turner, 39 of Boise, Idaho, a visiting professor of mathematics and computer science, and Mithilshwar Singh, 60, a visiting professor of finance.

Israel TV resumes broadcasts

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Television was back on the air at 9 o'clock last night, following blackouts on Tuesday and Wednesday. But chances are that the technicians will strike again on Tuesday.

Their return to work was based on what they understood to be a gentleman's agreement between Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar and Broadcasting Authority chairman Micha Yinnon.

The strike was caused by the suspension of technician's staff committee chairman Sion Swery, who is accused by management of having ordered the transmission of the NBA All Star basketball game to be cut short early this week.

Numerous approaches by Histadrut officials to IBA director-general Uri Porat to either revoke or defer Swery's suspension have met with a negative response.

Kessar proposed to Yinnon that Swery go on vacation for two months and that the hearing of the disciplinary tribunal be deferred for up to 60 days. During this period the two sides would negotiate.

Meanwhile, the Broadcasting Authority appealed to the Jerusalem Labour Court for an interim injunction against the strikers.

Only minutes before Kessar's conversation with Yinnon, Porat told reporters that he would explore every avenue before going to court. While he spoke, the application to the court was being processed.

Histadrut lawyer Benny Cohen told the court that Yinnon had agreed to Kessar's suggestion, but Eli Ben Tovim, in charge of labour relations at the State Attorney's Office, denied this.

The technicians had been notified of the Kessar-Yinnon accord at 5:25. They were just getting ready to go on the air when deputy television chief Yossi Tzemach informed them that there would be no broadcast on Porat's instructions. The technicians came to court claiming that they were not on strike.

Legal representatives of the two sides adjourned to the judges' chamber where it was agreed that Swery would take a two month vacation, broadcasts would resume, and Kessar and Yinnon would appear in court on Tuesday to decide whether Yinnon had accepted Kessar's proposal.

PROTEST. — The nurses' demonstration planned for Sunday outside the Histadrut Executive in Tel Aviv has been postponed pending the meeting on Tuesday of representatives of the Health Ministry, the Treasury and the Histadrut to discuss the nurses' wage demands.



Prime Minister Shamir and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens (right) meet with a delegation of Beduin leaders in Jerusalem yesterday. (Media)

Shamir pledges to aid Beduin

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER
For The Jerusalem Post

Prime Minister Shamir yesterday promised to push for the development of industry and municipal services in new Beduin settlements, to create more Beduin local councils, and to seek a settlement of the Beduin's Negev land claims.

Shamir, who hosted a delegation of about 50 Beduin in his office yesterday, in his first official meeting with the community's leaders, also promised that construction would begin on the first Beduin high school in the north before the end of this fiscal year. Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens, who is responsible for minority affairs, attended the meeting.

The Beduin leaders, while pleased

to have an audience with the prime minister, said several similar promises for development aid had not been kept.

"This is the first time we have met with the prime minister in a forum such as this, and I am optimistic," said Mansour Abu Ajaj, a teacher from the Negev town of Kuseifa.

Members of the delegation noted that the government's destruction of illegally-built homes was one of the community's most pressing problems.

"A Beduin may have only a shack. All of a sudden that is destroyed. And that can change him from a loyal citizen to a hostile one," said Abu Ajaj.

Development aid is needed to encourage continued Beduin loyalty to

the state, the leaders told Shamir.

One Beduin, deploring the total absence of Beduin high schools in 22 northern Beduin settlements, noted: "I don't want my son to go to study [in an Arab village] and come back with a membership certificate in Rakah."

The leaders also asked the government to help them establish local councils among settlements lacking them in the north, and to replace Jewish town administrators with Beduin in the Negev.

The Beduin said they were seeking development town status for the Negev towns of Rahat and the distribution of pasture land to help accommodate their more than 100,000 sheep and goats.

PERES

(Continued from Page One)

mine whether these conditions would be met.

The Labour bureau decided to reconfirm the Moshe Nissim-Rafi Edri agreement on the state budget, stressing that any further requests for allocations should be dealt with "in accordance with the coalition agreement."

Both Labour and the Likud view this formula as another potential stumbling block. Labour intends to use it to funnel aid requests for the West Bank to the inner cabinet, where the 5-5 tie will hold them up indefinitely.

Wolf Blitzer adds from Washington: Shamir's comments to *The Washington Post* yesterday, that he had not been "very well informed" on Israel's role in Irangate, represented his first public criticism of Israel's role in the operation, which was run by then-prime minister Shimon Peres and his associates.

Shamir endorsed the "concept" of a general U.S. political effort to influence a successor to the Ayatollah Khomeini; urged the U.S. to reject the "guilt complex" that he suggested some Arab countries were trying to impose on Washington for Irangate; and reiterated his strong opposition to an international peace conference on the Middle East.

He also said that "nothing tangible" had arisen from the offers by Lebanese Shi'ite leader Nabih Berri to swap the Israeli airman and the four hostages threatened in Beirut for 400 Arab prisoners in Israel. He declined to rule out the use of force to obtain the freedom of the hostages.

Solidarity march for camps

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BIR ZEIT. — Students at Bir Zeit University held a protest march and called a hunger strike yesterday in solidarity with refugees in besieged Palestinian camps in Beirut, amid a wave of unrest in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Hundreds of students marched behind a large Palestinian flag to the outer gates of the campus in full view of a group of soldiers who observed the protest from a nearby road. The students sang nationalist songs and chanted pro-PLO and anti-Israeli slogans.

Students began a day-long sit-in and hunger strike, though scores ignored calls by the student council head and left the demonstration. Posters bore slogans in support of residents of the Balata, refugee camp, which has been the target of a security crackdown, and calls for reopening An-Najah University in Nablus, which has been ordered shut for a month after a violent demonstration.

In Nablus, pupils from the Kadri Tougan school hurled stones at the neighbouring yeshiva at Joseph's Tomb after 15 youths, whose faces were hidden by keffiyehs, entered the school and urged them to de-

monstrate, an IDF spokesman said.

The spokesman said troops who arrived at the scene were met with a hail of stones, and fired tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse the pupils. They later fired over the heads of the crowd, which retreated to the school. Civil Administration head Ephraim Sneh arrived and, following contacts with the school principal, soldiers entered the school and arrested the 15 youths, the spokesman said.

In Ramallah, Israeli civilians fired in the air after stones were thrown at their car in the centre of the city. Soldiers used tear gas to disperse a crowd that gathered at the scene.

At the Maghazi refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, a 19-year-old was wounded in the hand when troops opened fire to disperse teenagers who blocked a main road and pelted troops with stones, the spokesman said.

Settlers blocked a main road in Khan Yunis after stones were thrown at their vehicles. They left the scene when troops arrived.

Security sources said the unrest in the territories was deliberately planned, and linked to the siege of Palestinian camps in Beirut by the Shi'ite Amal militia.

We deeply mourn the sudden passing
on February 11, 1987 of

**Dr. JOSEF ŽELJKO
LADOR — LEDERER**

He bequeathed his body to science.

His wife: Ita
His son and daughter-in-law: Menachem and Hanna
His son: Meir
His grandchild: Eran

On the thirtieth day since the passing of

AARON ROSENFELD

we will meet for a

tombstone unveiling and memorial service
on Sunday, February 15, 1987 — 16 Shvat, 5747,
at 12:30 p.m. at the Zichron Yaacov cemetery.

The Family

On the 1st anniversary of the death of

Dr. MORTON M. BERMAN

family and friends will meet on Monday, February 16, 1987, at 1.45 p.m. at the grave on the Mount of Olives. Entrance from the Inter-continental plaza.
There will be a memorial meeting at 3.00 p.m. in the Keren Hayesod National Institute Building, Memorial Hall.

Berman Family

We are deeply shocked and grieved by the untimely death
of our beloved and dedicated member

AHARON GILADI

The funeral took place at Hasoleim yesterday,
February 12, 1987

The Family and
Kibbutz Hasoleim

To Morris Romani

Deepest sympathy on the death of your

Mother

Directorate and Staff of
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Our beloved father, grandfather and great grandfather

JAKOB KARLINER

has left us forever.

The funeral took place yesterday.

Chawah and Josef Offer, Ramat Hasharon
Zvi and Channa Karliner, Beit Yitzhak
Grandchildren and great grandchildren

Netanya, February 11, 1987

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of

JOHN H. WHITE

He bequeathed his body to science.

Mourning by: Mrs. Pearl White
Ruth Goldberg and Family
Moshe White and Family

Hizbullah seizes Syrian troops; Amal tightens siege of camp

BEIRUT (Reuters). — Hizbullah Shi'ite militiamen seized 12 Syrian soldiers and 13 Lebanese policemen yesterday after the joint patrol tried to disarm and then killed one of their members, militia sources said.

Reporters saw an armoured personnel carrier used by the patrol and other cars burning in the Muslim West Beirut district of Basta. Scores of tense, heavily-armed Hizbullah fighters guarded the streets. The Muslim militia sources said five of the patrol's vehicles were burned in the struggle with Hizbullah. Contacts were under way to free the 25, they added.

The clash climaxed a day in Lebanon when a pro-Syrian Christian politician was kidnapped, Israeli planes raided the south, the value of the Lebanese pound plunged even further (see story page 19) and attempts to take food to a besieged Palestinian refugee camp remained stalemated.

"We did not receive any word... we cannot enter after dark, we will

wait for developments tomorrow," said a spokesman for the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (Unrwa).

Trucks packed with relief supplies at Unrwa's West Beirut depot were ready to move into Bourj al-Barajneh camp, besieged by the Shi'ite Amal militia for more than 15 weeks.

Foreign medical workers at the camp say hunger has forced some of its 30,000 refugees to eat cats, dogs and even rats. The reports triggered international concern and Italy and Austria joined France and Morocco in pledging help.

Two top officials of the Iranian Red Crescent, Sayyed Ali Hayyuri and Sayfullah Wahid Dastgerdi, arrived in Beirut to seek ways to send supplies into camps blockaded by Amal.

Amal says it will not lift the siege until it recovers positions in south Lebanon which it lost to Palestinians in "camps war" fighting in November. Most of the positions in Magh-

dousheh, near Sidon, are now occupied by a buffer force.

A Palestinian official said: "We have withdrawn from Maghdousheh and we don't see why Amal is complicating the issue... this will have grave consequences."

The Amal militia, for the second day running, refused to allow food trucks to enter Bourj al-Barajneh.

In Damascus, Amal leader Nabih Berri said there were "still Palestinians" at the village of Zighdara, east of the southern Lebanese camp of Miyeh Miyeh, and that their presence there was an obstacle to authorizing relief for Bourj al-Barajneh.

He lashed "the outrageously pro-Palestinian propaganda" of the Western media, which he accused of inciting "anti-Shi'ite racism to replace anti-Semitism."

The Unrwa office in Bourj al-Barajneh sent a message to the agency headquarters in Vienna saying the situation in the camp was desperate. "We have been eating raw grass

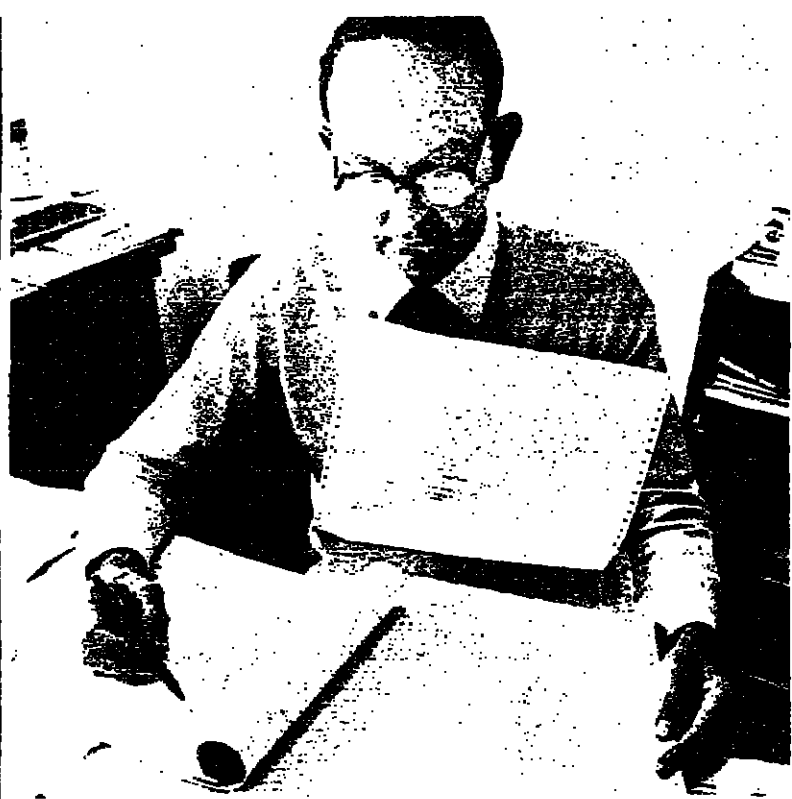
cooked in water — there is nothing left to eat," it said.

"After all the cats, dogs, mules and other animals in the camp were eaten, a mother and her five children committed suicide to avoid having to turn to cannibalism."

In Washington the U.S. said yesterday it could play no direct role in negotiating a resumption of relief supplies to the besieged Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley told reporters. "This is a situation that is tragic and deplorable, but I think that these militias and groups themselves have to work out the agreements. It's not up to the U.S. to work out the deal to allow these relief convoys to go through," she said.

A small convoy of food trucks tried to enter the camp on Wednesday, under an agreement with Amal, but the vehicles were blocked by the militia. Witnesses said that Amal men threw the food on the floor to make it uncatable. (Reuters. AP)



A South African opposition politician examines the latest government list naming 4,000 detainees, which was released yesterday. (Reuters)

Children among 4,000 S. African detainees

CAPE TOWN (Reuters). — South Africa, facing protest at home and abroad over detention without trial and the jailing of young blacks, yesterday named 4,000 detainees and acknowledged that they included children of 11 or younger.

The new list brings the official total of people detained for over a month under an eight-month-old state of emergency to some 13,350.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok issued a statement saying that "unfortunately" the 4,000 included three under the age of 12, 18 under the age of 13 and 91 under the age of 14. They were being held to protect them from brutalizing exposure to black political violence, he said.

The new list generated further

confusion over how detention totals are calculated. Civil rights groups and the government have long been at loggerheads over the issue. The government declined to say how many people were currently detained but did not dispute opposition politicians' estimate of 5,000.

In a landmark ruling, the Durban supreme court ordered the release of a detainee yesterday because the South African police had not provided sufficient grounds to justify his arrest.

It was the first time a court had rejected the state's reasons for holding a detainee under section 29 of the Internal Security Act which permits indefinite detention without trial and without access to lawyers.

Mubarak sees referendum as 'democracy in doses'

CAIRO (AP). — Egyptians voted yesterday on whether parliament should be dissolved, with little doubt they would give President Hosni Mubarak a mandate to call elections for a new chamber.

Mubarak's ruling National Democratic Party and all five legal opposition parties explicitly favoured dissolution of the People's Assembly elected 32 months ago under a controversial 1983 law.

Yesterday's referendum is the first step in a scenario virtually certain to culminate in Mubarak's re-election to a second six-term.

Official referendum results, an almost certain "yes," are to be announced on Saturday. Mubarak immediately will disband the now-suspended assembly and set a date for parliamentary elections that must be held by mid-April.

Mubarak voted in the Cairo suburb of Heliopolis where he lives. He told reporters afterward that he was trying to establish full democracy in Egypt in measured stages. "We are allowing doses of democracy as much as we can absorb," he said. "Full democracy needs some time...an overdose can be harmful."

IN BRIEF

Al-Quds launches European edition

JERUSALEM (Reuters). — The East Jerusalem Palestinian daily al-Quds launched an international edition this week in a bid to compete on western Europe's growing Arabic-language newspaper market.

The first 500 daily copies of the international edition, containing more news and fewer advertisements than the domestic paper, were flown to London this week overnight from Ben Gurion airport.

Ziad Abu Zuluf, technical director, said it was planned to extend distribution to Paris and Frankfurt next month and to transmit the newspaper by satellite within six months for printing in Europe.

Warring bees slay man, injure 72

PRETORIA (AP). — Two rival swarms of bees turned on patients at a hospital, killing a partially paralyzed man and stinging more than 70 other people, authorities reported yesterday.

The attack occurred on Wednesday at the outpatient clinic of Pretoria's H.F. Verwoerd hospital, a whites-only facility, when firefighters tried to disperse two warring swarms of bees with insecticide.

Dr. Mary Smal, a hospital spokeswoman, said the bees attacked the patients after being forced out of hives they had built inside the hospital's walls.

\$1.2m. Modigliani painting stolen

MILAN (Reuters). — Officials at Milan's Brera art gallery admitted yesterday that a Modigliani painting worth 1.5 billion lire (\$1.2 million) had been stolen without their noticing.

The oil painting, "Portrait of a Man," disappeared on Monday but gallery staff, thinking it had been moved during building work, waited 24 hours before realizing it had been stolen and calling the police.

3 nabbed selling cluster bomb plans

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LOS ANGELES. — FBI agents have arrested three men and accused them of stealing plans for the "cluster bomb" weapon system and then offering Saudi Arabia and Iraq help to produce the weapon within 18 months.

After lengthy undercover surveillance, the FBI said the men presented a proposal to Saudi Arabia to "manage the entire programme of acquisition and construction of facilities" for the cluster bomb for \$860 to \$890 million.

Western stars grace Kremlin peace forum

MOSCOW (Reuters). — A star-studded cast of western cultural personalities, scientists, politicians and businessmen is assembling in Moscow for a Kremlin-sponsored international peace forum which opens this weekend.

Among those expected at the "International Forum for a Non-Nuclear World and the Survival of Humanity," are film stars Claudia Cardinale and Paul Newman, former Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau and economist John Kenneth Galbraith.

They will be rubbing shoulders with the president of the Bank of Italy, the chairman of the U.S. Pepsi Firm, authors Graham Greene and Norman Mailer, British pianist John Ogdon, and Robert Adams, head of the U.S. Smithsonian Institution.

Western diplomats say the way the forum was organized has given rise to some controversy, suggesting that those invited were not fully informed of its objectives.

"I have talked to several Americans who have come here and found, particularly among businessmen, that I think they have come here under false pretences," U.S. ambassador in Moscow Arthur Hartman told journalists yesterday.

"That is, they were told it was a meeting to discuss business, and I think it's probably more peace and arms control and the Soviet position," he said.

EGYPTIANS. — Members of the Egyptian Embassy in Tel Aviv yesterday visited Migdal Ha'emek, where they were the guests of the local council.

Soviets break up Begun demonstration

MOSCOW. — Soviet authorities yesterday had dozens of plainclothes agents punch and kick protesters while snowplows advanced ominously to break up the fourth day of demonstrations on behalf of jailed Jewish activist, Josef Begun.

Plainclothesmen roughed up western correspondents covering the protest and detained seven of the demonstrators, including Inna Begun and Boris Begun, the wife and son of the jailed activist.

All were later released, along with seven other people whose demonstrators said were detained on their way to the protest site. At least two others were under house arrest, the sources said.

About 20 people have been going to the Arbat shopping mall in central

Moscow every day this week to protest on behalf of Begun, who was sentenced in October 1983 to seven years' imprisonment. They are also demonstrating to emphasize their desire to leave the country.

On Tuesday, foreign ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov said Begun had declined to apply for a government pardon that freed 140 other imprisoned dissidents. Begun's family said they have no way of confirming the report.

Gerasimov called the mass release, and his announcement that another 140 cases were being reviewed, part of the process of slight liberalization undertaken by Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev. But the demonstrators said that policy has not been extended to Jewish emigration. (AP. Reuters. AFP)

McFarlane offered himself as a hostage

TEHERAN. — Robert McFarlane, the ex-U.S. National Security adviser suspected of a suicide bid, offered himself and nine colleagues as hostages against the release of Americans held by pro-Iranian Shi'ites in Lebanon, an Iranian leader said.

Islamic Republic newspaper yesterday quoted speaker of parliament Ali Rafsanjani as saying McFarlane made the offer on his ill-fated trip to Iran last year.

"They said: 'We will be your host here, and you tell them to free our hostages in Lebanon,' Rafsanjani was quoted as saying in a speech on Wednesday. "We said we are not hostage-takers. This is not what a government does."

McFarlane, 49, is recovering in a U.S. hospital from an overdose of tranquilizers in what police suspect was a suicide attempt. He came to Teheran on his secret mission last May with a false Irish passport aboard a plane bringing military spares.


U.S. officials have said the initiative, which included sale of weapons to Iran, was aimed at improving ties and at enlisting Iranian influence to free U.S. hostages believed kidnapped by pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon.

Sources in Iran, who have close contacts with the Islamic government, said that during McFarlane's visit to Teheran last summer, Rafsanjani's rival group — supporters of Khomeini's designated successor Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri — had indeed tried to take McFarlane and his companions hostages as a show of strength.

But Rafsanjani aborted the plot after he found out that there was a plan to take the Americans from their hotel, the sources who did not wish to be named said.

They said Montazeri's supporters, who were unhappy about Rafsanjani's approach towards the United States, wanted to take the American guests hostage and have a *fait accompli* for the government.

In Washington the board investigating the U.S. sale of arms to Iran interviewed President Ronald Reagan for more than two hours and announced it had discovered "new material" requiring a delay in completion of its report, a spokesman said.



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Date: **Monday, February 23, 1987**

Schedule:

- 4:00 p.m. — Registration
- 4:30 — 6:00 p.m. — Discussion Groups*
- 6:00 — 7:00 p.m. — Break
- 7:00 — 8:00 p.m. — Business Meeting
- 8:30 p.m. — Guest Speaker, Rabbi Rackman

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Habad makes show of strength

A rabbi's 'messianic aspirations'

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

"If there is a better candidate [than the Lubavitcher Rebbe] for the Messiah, let him put him forward."

This was the reaction this week of a Habad activist to what opponents of the Hassidic movement called the "messianic aspirations" of Rabbi Menahem Schneerson. Habad's Brooklyn-based leader.

It was a week in which Habad held a major show of strength by filling Jerusalem's Binyanei Ha'uma to overflowing for their conclusion of the annual cycle of study of the *Mishne Toru* by the Rambam (Maimonides).

Criticism of Habad for its adulation of Schneerson, its publicity-minded campaigns and its hawkish stand on Israel's foreign policy has been fairly constant over the years, both from the moderate Orthodox camp and from the ultra-Orthodox.

The attacks seemed to reach their peak last Friday with a blistering open letter from an old enemy, Rabbi Eliezer Schach, former head of the Agudat Yisrael Council of Sages, in *Yated Ne'eman*, mouthpiece of the Shas Party of which Schach is a mentor.

Habad had eschewed both Shas and Agudat Yisrael, from which Shas broke away. The Habad schools are affiliated to the State Religious network which is usually identified with the National Reli-

gious Party. But Habad, which has remained largely apolitical, has shunned the NRP as well.

For the secular Israeli public, Habad has been at best a colourful, good-hearted phenomenon, at worst, a minor irritation, with its "Tora tanks," mobile *Succot*, phylactery campaigns, and Purim and Hanukkah visits to non-religious institutions. Some non-religious observers claim to have seen a growing aggressiveness, but this may well be, as one Habad member claimed, simply the result of the increasing success of its methods.

But for Schach, who leads the "Lithuanian" camp that has traditionally opposed Hassidism, the matter is far more serious.

According to Rabbi Elazar Shulzinger, a spokesman for Schach, the Lubavitcher Rebbe had broken 2,000 years of Jewish tradition by establishing new "holidays," such as the date this year when he won a court case in New York, in which a relative of his was ordered to return a large number of valuable books.

Shulzinger claimed that on such *yamim be'urim* (clear days, in Habad terminology), followers of the rebbe recited the Hallel prayer and the Shehyanu blessing, a charge that Habad followers rejected out of hand.

Shulzinger also echoed an unlikely ally, the dovish wing of the "knitted skullcap" national-religious bloc, in

decrying Habad's attitude towards the Land of Israel.

"He [Schneerson] sits in the U.S. and says that others must capture Beirut and Damascus," Shulzinger said, adding that most of the Habad followers were exempted from regular army service and at most did reserve duty "in the army rabbinate."

Such charges are echoed by Dr. Moshe Samet of the national-religious camp. In a recent pamphlet on the change in the "Who is a Jew" legislation, which Habad has championed, Samet cited Habad sources as being fiercer in their opposition to Zionism than the Satmar Rebbe and quotes Schneerson's phrase, "doubled and redoubled darkness" in reference to the Zionist State.

Samet suggested that the "quasi-Zionist image" presently adopted by Habad was prompted by the general pro-Israel feelings that swept the Jewish world following the establishment of the state. Samet adds that despite the fact that the rebbe advocates "territorial maximalism and military aggressiveness towards the country's enemies," he "attaches no religious importance whatsoever to the settlement of the Land of Israel at this time."

Noting that Schneerson has never visited Israel, Samet says that "Habad's well-oiled propaganda and public relations machine has managed to blur this fact."



The Habad movement fills Binyanei Ha'uma in the capital this week as part of its celebrations marking the completion of the reading of the Rambam's *Mishne Toru*. (Dan Landau)

Bridge administrator made 4,000 new friends

By HANAN SHER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — When Tom Sanders decided to get involved in bridge administration, he was setting a precedent — and paying off a long-standing debt.

Sanders is the immediate past president — and current chairman of the board — of the American Contract Bridge League, the world's largest bridge organization. Until he took office, it was rare for a top player to enter the world of what he calls "bridge politics." Most preferred to stick to the cards, and leave the organization of the game — and of the ACBL, with its 200,000 members and 70 employees — to lesser lights.

But Sanders feels that he was picking up where a fellow student at Vanderbilt University left off more than 35 years ago. "People with

potential have to be encouraged along the line, as that fellow did back in 1951, when he took me to my first duplicate bridge event," Sanders said in an interview here this week.

Sanders and his wife, world champion Carol Sanders, are here for the 21st Israel Bridge Festival, currently under way at the Tel Aviv Exhibition Grounds. And while he's certainly here to play, it is also a "social visit" for him.

"Bridge is essentially a social game, not just a hobby," he says. "Every time you go to a tournament, you make some new friends."

Sanders, who did not know many of the 4,000 Israelis who participate in organized bridge here, says the trip was an opportunity "to make 4,000 new friends."

And next year, he says, he wants to see to it that other Americans have the same experience.

"People who like to play bridge like to travel," he adds. "They like games and puzzles, and have a natural curiosity. Travel is also a game."

The arrival of foreigners is also important to the quality of Israeli bridge, notes Sanders. "Except for the top few players, very few Israelis get to see or play against experts from the rest of the world. In America, you'll find experts at every tournament, and the people who play against them can't help but learn from the experience."

Israeli players at this year's festival have certainly had that opportunity. In addition to Tom and Carol Sanders, American world champions Kathie Wei and Judy Radin, Swedish stars Per Olaf Sundelin and Tommy Gullberg, and the Hungarian national team are attending the festival.

Coming from Nashville, the San-

ders couple have had to travel to get to the top, to play with the best players from all over the U.S. Some of their best partnerships have been of the long-distance variety.

For the last 18 years, Carol Sanders has played with Betty Ann Kennedy, of Shreveport, Louisiana. Despite the distance between their homes, Sanders and Kennedy have become one of the world's best women's pairs.

"Having a bridge partner is sort of like having a second marriage," Carol Sanders says.

NEW OUTLOOK. — Dan Darin, a director in the International Centre for Land Policy Studies and a peace activist, has been elected chairman of the board of *New Outlook* magazine following the death of the previous chairman, Shlomo Rosen.

Canada may re-convict anti-Jewish publisher

By NOMI MORRIS
For The Jerusalem Post

TORONTO. — Ontario Attorney-General Ian Scott has announced that he will ask the Supreme Court of Canada to reinstate the 1985 conviction of anti-Semitic publisher Ernst Zundel on charges of spreading false news.

The German-born Zundel, 48, is believed to be the world's most prolific publisher of anti-Jewish literature. He was sentenced to 15 months in jail after a trial during which concentration camp survivors were accused

of lying and "revisionist" historians testified that the Holocaust was a hoax.

A provincial appeals court shocked the Jewish community last month when it ordered a new trial for Zundel, author of the pamphlet *Did Six Million Really Die?*, ruling that legal errors denied him his right to a fair hearing.

Scott, who met with numerous Jewish community leaders, and received a barrage of letters on the issue, said Tuesday that his decision was based on "strict concern for the

administration of justice." Fear over the publicity Zundel would receive through further legal action was a matter to be dealt with by the free press and not by him, Scott said.

The Canadian Jewish Congress and other groups expressed pleasure yesterday over Scott's move, viewing it as more desirable than either of his other options — to go ahead with a new trial or drop the charges altogether.

"This is the most direct way of restoring Zundel's conviction. The Supreme Court appeal will deal

purely with issues of law, whereas a new trial would have started the whole thing all over again," said Manuel Prutschi, CJC national director of community relations.

He added that should the Supreme appeal fail, it would not be a vindication of Zundel's views. "The first logical step is to go to the Supreme Court of Canada. If that doesn't work, we fully expect the attorney-general to take Zundel to court again," said Prutschi. Meanwhile, Zundel can count on another few months of freedom before the new appeal is heard.

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With no Israel TV to watch for two days, crowds jam this video film library. (Rahamin Israeli)

Can't kick that videotape habit

When you've got the habit, and your supplier says nothing's available, you're willing to pay more for the stuff.

There are all kinds of habits and all kinds of alternatives: heroin addicts have methadone, cigarette addicts have lollipops. TV addicts have video.

There are all kinds of videotapes available for those who either believed Yoram Avidor was doing the right thing or gave in to temptation more recently.

These were some of the videotapes available in this city on Tuesday and Wednesday night for those with the habit and no Israel TV to watch:

Movies that first ran in the Matmid theatre, which is off Allenby and caters to the kind of clientele that would prefer not to be seen there. The films are usually called something like *Slave Mistress* or *Harem Heaven*. In Hebrew, the word sex is often in the title no matter what the original title was. They are very popular, say the video library managers in lower Allenby.

Some of the shops specialize in such movies, but also have other sections.

They have movies about Turkish love affairs, in which the promise of sex is titillating enough for the viewer. And they have Egyptian romances involving wealthy men and peasant women or peasant men and wealthy women, which are sort of like Israeli films about Ashkenazi men and Sephardi women, or vice

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv
Robert Rosenberg

versa.

These lower Allenby shops also have tapes showing a rabbi who used to be a minister in the government, and another rabbi who used to be a Tel Aviv comic genius, preaching in turn to large crowds of the converted. There are also tapes showing the celebrations at the Baba Salt's grave.

Cartoons for the kids abound, as do westerns in English, Italian or Spanish.

Bible stories, including *Sodom and Gomorrah*, which does not have the kind of scenes one can see in *Caligula* as produced by the owner of *Penthouse* magazine, are not so popular, even though they are dubbed.

Kung Fu films, generally placed on shelves low enough for the kids to browse through, also exist in abundance.

Tear jerkers, handkerchief wringers, heartbreakers and scatological British comedies, American teen sex romances and French tragedies made by *auteurs* are lined up colourfully on the shelves.

A true junkie can find the original pilot movie from which a British TV series was made about a self-doubting spy with a friend named

Lonely. Lonely gets smelly when he gets nervous, which is most of the time he's on screen. The elegantly made series of John Le Carré's Smiley stories are impossible to find.

At several European or American-style record shops one can find videotapes of rock 'n' roll. A few have videotapes of philharmonic orchestras performing Mozart, who was as popular in his day as the Beatles in theirs.

Of course, this city can actually get along fine without Israel TV, partly because it gets — and watches — Middle East TV.

But the real reason this city gets along well without TV is that the only thing that changes is the city's rhythm.

The early movie shows suddenly become more popular — and it becomes hard to find a ticket during the week. The second show is full, especially on a night when there was supposed to be a live broadcast of a basketball game.

There are places that usually get going as hot spots only after TV goes off the air, so the rush hours of waitresses and busboys, dishwashers and barmen trying to keep up with the customers, shifts to a few hours earlier and lasts a lot longer. Pub owners order more beer, restaurant owners ask their workers to come earlier, and there's a feeling that it's actually Friday night in summer, when it's actually Wednesday night in winter.

And the lights in apartment block windows go off earlier.



Scottish Church Moderator Robert Craig in 18th century court dress. (Brian Hendler)

Church head sees Israel based on 'natural justice'

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

There are biblical and theological implications to the establishment of the State of Israel, but Israel's existence is also based upon "natural justice," the titular head of the Church of Scotland told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Dr. Robert Craig, who is visiting Israel this week, added that the same "natural justice" indicated the right of the Palestinians to a homeland.

Craig, who served in Jerusalem from 1945 to 1947 and again from 1980 to 1985, is one of a small number of ministers from abroad to have been elected moderator of the Church, a position that is held for a year.

He stressed that his stays in Israel had helped him to understand not only Jews better, but also other Christians.

Rather than attempting to convert Jews (or other Christians) to their faith, the Church of Scotland is now far more concerned with "conversation and discussion," he said.

"We differ quite clearly in our Jewish friends," he said. But he added: "If each of us would be true to the essentials of our own religion, there would be very little to differentiate between us."

While in Jerusalem, Craig called upon President Chaim Herzog and Mayor Teddy Kollek, as well as the heads of the local churches.

Two settlements get Knesset prize

Post Knesset Correspondent

Two settlements that have excelled in fostering an atmosphere of mutual tolerance among inhabitants of widely differing views and backgrounds will be awarded the Knesset Speaker's annual quality-of-life prizes at the Knesset's birthday celebrations next week.

Kfar Edumim, situated between Jerusalem and Jericho, has observant and secular inhabitants in equal numbers. It was founded seven years ago: its 80 families comprise both veteran Israelis and immigrants, and all its children — from observant and secular families alike — attend a State Religious experimental school, which is also open to children from neighbouring settlements.

The other settlement is Kibbutz Ketura, in the Arava desert 50 km north of Eilat. Established by Young Judea of North America 14 years ago, Ketura has about 120 members, two-thirds from abroad, the rest Israeli-born graduates of the scout movement.

The kibbutz embraces traditional as well as secular members, maintains a kosher dining hall and kitchen, and observes the Sabbath in all public facilities and ceremonies. Its synagogue has a daily minyan.

The Knesset anniversary in the Hebrew calendar is on the 15th of Shvat, the New Year of the Trees, which this year falls on Saturday 14. The anniversary celebrations will be held on Tuesday.



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מנהל משרד

Counterfeiters cash in on Jewish nostalgia

They are beautiful, costly — and fake

Forgery of Judaica is both widespread and profitable with perhaps '60-70 per cent of the items on sale' being fakes. It's a racket that may be worth millions of dollars, Bernard Josephs and David Rudge report.

TO SOME they are objects of beauty and relics of a bygone age. To others they are reminders of the past, that also happen to be gilt-edged investments. However you view them, the works of art that are lumped together under the title of Judaica are enjoying a remarkable vogue and an accompanying sharp rise in value.

The kiddush cups, spice boxes and Hanukkah lamps that were a part of Jewish households in previous centuries are today the focus of a worldwide trade worth tens of millions of dollars.

But they are also. *The Jerusalem Post* has learned, the favoured target of forgers and fakers anxious to cash in on Jewish nostalgia.

Judaica experts and dealers confirmed that forgery in the field is widespread — and highly profitable. It is a racket worth millions of dollars.

Ferretting out the facts behind the fakes, however, is not easy. Even reputable and respected dealers are loath to talk, in certain cases, for fear of retribution.

"The people who are doing the faking would burn my shop if they knew I'd talked," said one trader.

Others have no wish to upset the applecart, either for their own unscrupulous reasons, or, more often, out of a desire to preserve their reputation and that of their businesses.

Those who were prepared to speak, albeit anonymously, painted a picture of a trade infested with rip-off artists aiming to make a fast buck at the expense of the gullible.

Forged items, they said, run the whole gamut of Judaica from artifacts purporting to be hundreds of years old to rare books and manuscripts. And while the majority of dealers are perfectly honest, this itself is no guarantee. So sophisticated are the forgeries becoming that traders too can be fooled.

The most common forgeries are spice boxes, Tora pointers, porcelain Passover plates, kiddush cups and etrog boxes. These items are often late 20th-century reproductions, sold as 19th-century — or earlier — originals.

They normally sell at auctions and in shops for sums of up to \$1,000. Turnover is high, which compensates for the relatively low sale price. Objects from the 17th century and earlier command higher prices, ranging from \$1,000 to \$20,000 and more, depending on their condition and rarity, *The Post* was told.

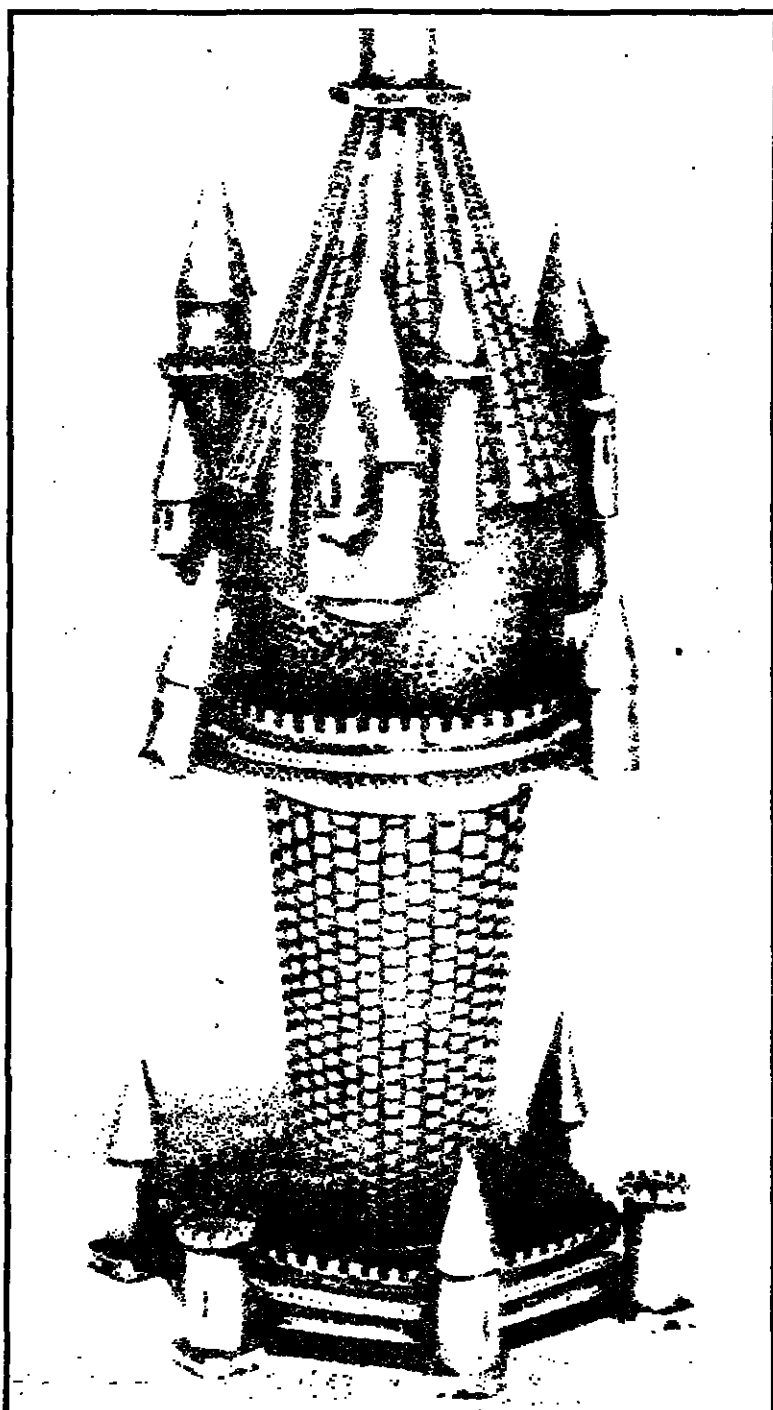
Forgeries of these pieces are not uncommon, despite the intricacies involved in the complex task of faking the aging process.

INFORMATION garnered from several respectable dealers, also pointed to a roaring and lucrative trade in the production and sale of fake illuminated scrolls, especially the Esther scroll.

These beautifully-written works are hard to distinguish from the originals, even for experts, said one dealer.

He noted that it was difficult to fake Tora scrolls because of the vast amount of work involved. And the same applied to rare Hebrew books.

There were, however, cases where books had been doctored. He explained that it was uncommon to find books that, despite their age, were in good condition. Hebrew books in particular, were usually well used and the older they were, the worse their condition. Most had pages torn or missing. These volumes fetched only a fraction of the price commanded by a complete work in good condition. However, determined



This 20th-century spice tower is trying to pass as a medieval original.

and skilled forgers have found ways of faithfully reproducing damaged or missing pages and replacing them, thereby increasing the value tenfold.

"A rare, but damaged book, would probably sell for around \$500, compared to \$5,000 and more for a complete work," said the dealer.

Much bogus and reproduction Judaica is manufactured in European and American workshops. In the past, said one dealer, items were made mainly in Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Spain. Today they are also being produced in Portugal, France, Germany and Austria, as well as in Israel.

The items are not imported to Israel in bulk. The majority are small and fit into suitcases. Somebody who has purchased a few "gifts" from abroad is unlikely to be stopped at customs.

Once in Israel, however, the reproduction tags are removed and the objects sold as authentic pieces.

It is not clear if there are organized networks producing the fakes and working with agents here or if the racket is based on individual traders purchasing copies abroad and then selling them here as originals.

Dealers thought the latter system was most common but they did not rule out the existence of organized networks.

A STARTLING estimate of the extent of fake Judaica on the home market came from Professor Bezalel

Narkiss, head of the Hebrew University's Centre for Jewish Art. "I would say 60 to 70 per cent of the items on sale in the shops are fake," he said. "Frankly I don't think there is much of the real stuff left."

Most traders sold reproductions openly and were honest, said the professor. But, he went on: "In many cases, the aim is to mislead. You name it and they have faked it. Some of the forgeries are absolutely superb and very difficult to detect, even for professionals."

"The origins of these items are extremely hard to trace because, though some of them are made here, much is produced abroad. Forgery is a world-wide industry and I would say it is worth millions of dollars."

Narkiss said that the centre had identified some of the forgers and was keeping an eye on them. "But unless they are caught red-handed there is nothing else we can do," he complained.

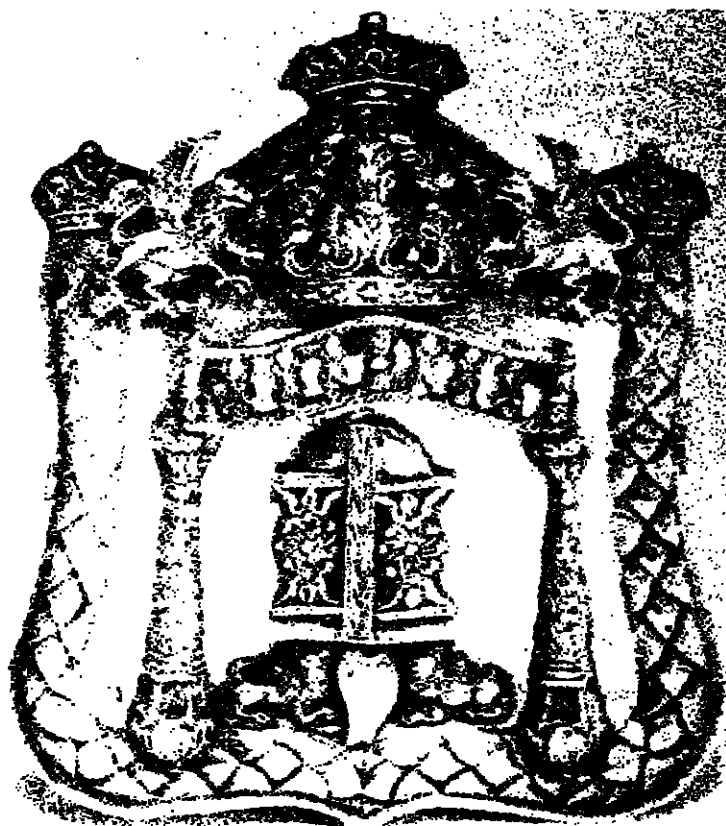
Another expert, who asked not to be named, said that local forgers appeared to have gained access to items stolen during a robbery several years ago at the Hechal Shlomo museum of Judaica in Jerusalem. Copies of several items grabbed by the thieves had recently appeared on the local market. These apparently included kiddush cups and plates. Hardly a week goes by without a forgery coming to light, said the expert, and some of them are of "wonderful quality."

Daniela Luxembourg, a local director of Sotheby's, the famous London auctioneers, believes Narkiss's estimate of the amount of fakes to be "exaggerated." But she confirmed that the trade was aware of a large-scale forgery racket.

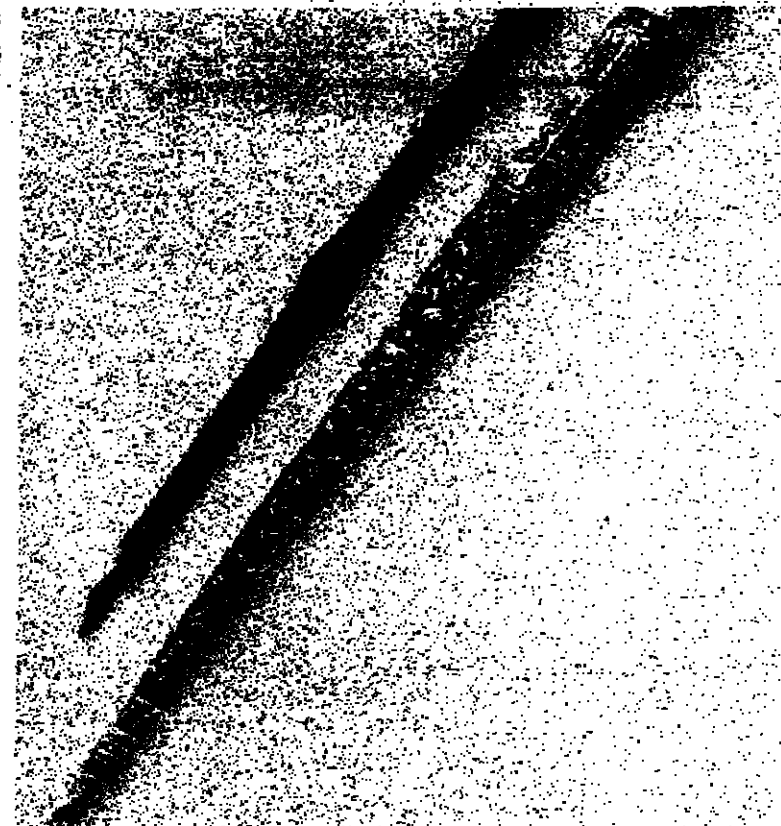
Sotheby's has been a central element in the Judaica trade here since its first local auction, in May 1985, ended with sales totalling more than \$1 million.

Said Luxembourg: "The buyers are more sophisticated these days, which makes it difficult for the forger. There may be a lot of fakes in the tourist shops — though some of them openly admit that they are selling reproductions."

In the professional market served by Sotheby's she pointed out, items were carefully checked by experts and the customers themselves could normally spot a fake. But she went on: "That does not mean these things do not crop up. Every market has forgeries. We have all experienced it."



This silver miniature Tora breastplate, in the late 18th-century Polish style, was made with the intent to deceive. The high quality of the silver and the heaviness of the metal suggest a well-conceived but entirely fraudulent copy. Of the two Tora pointers, the one on the left is



Israeli, modern, and perfectly acceptable, but the larger one is a fake, made in Spain or Israel. The smallness of the hand in proportion to the shaft is a clue as to its inauthenticity.

(Photos from 'A Collector's Guide to Judaica')

Allegations rock Israel art scene

THE ART WORLD has recently been rocked by allegations of forgery concerning the paintings of the late Shalom Moskovitz (the Zeigermacher) of Safad.

Shalom of Safad, perhaps Israel's most internationally-renowned artist, lived almost all his 80 plus years in the hilltop Galilee town. His colourful works, depicting moments in Jewish history and tradition, have been highly praised by art critics throughout the world.

Although Shalom was only "discovered" in the 1950s, his work quickly attained global recognition, leading to one-man exhibitions in 12 of the world's leading museums. His paintings, lithographs and tapestries have been exhibited by prominent galleries in America and Europe.

Shalom's folk-art style captured the imagination of critics who variously described his work as "naive, but not primitive"; "unique... and uniquely Jewish"; "original"; "symbolic"; "of major importance to Israeli art history," and so on.

His paintings and limited-edition lithographs are nowadays considered to be collectors items. More than six years after his

death, the works of Shalom of Safad can and do fetch considerable sums of money.

The allegations of forgery centre around the owners of a Safad gallery who were reportedly behind an elaborate network that faked paintings and lithographs of famous artists, especially those of the "Zeigermacher."

Police inquiries into the case are continuing and a number of suspects have been arrested. The allegations, whose truth has yet to be determined by the courts, have served to highlight the pitfalls confronting unwary buyers.

As with Judaica, there is very little external control or supervision over works of art. The onus is on the buyer to ascertain the authenticity of a particular piece.

The watchdogs, as in other countries, tend to be the reputable auction houses and dealers who stand to lose the most, in terms of damaged reputations, when objects of art costing thousands of dollars are suddenly revealed as fakes.

THE ISRAEL ART Galleries Association, with 50 members, was established in an attempt to

set and maintain standards of honesty and integrity that are essential to any business, particularly one in which there are no fixed prices.

The association can also call on the assistance of three or four expert assessors in cases where clients want to double-check the authenticity of their purchases.

Association member Meir Stern who runs the Stern Gallery in Tel Aviv, said they had investigated a number of complaints in the past and, in proven cases of forgery, had assisted the purchasers. In the majority of these cases the buyers' money was returned before the matter reached the courts.

Stern agreed that the Israel art scene had its fair share of fakes and forgeries, "the same as anywhere else in the world," although there was less control and supervision here.

Sometimes the forgeries involved the works of well-known artists like Ticho, Thager and Ovadyahu.

Stern said the majority of the "crooked paintings" were sold at private auctions. Adverts appeared in the press announcing private sales, including objects of

art, at a certain place. People went to these places looking for bargains and, all too often, paid out good money for bad buys.

"Generally speaking people get what they pay for," he said. "Where there is money you will find fakes. The problem afterwards is to substantiate allegations of forgery. It is not like forged dollars or something like that; forged paintings are not so easily defined."

Stern maintained that the majority of dealers were reputable and respectable, with other businesses apart from their galleries and therefore had no interest, and nothing to gain, from defrauding clients. The same applied to established auction houses, although he asserted that some operated on the "get rich quick" principle.

Stern's advice to buyers, therefore, was to check first. "If somebody wants to buy a car or a refrigerator they usually shop around, check the products on the market and the prices," he said.

"In the case of paintings or any other form of art, the thing to do is seek professional advice and buy carefully," he added.

Sotheby's, said Luxembourg, gives customers a five-year guarantee of authenticity. The company has occasionally been obliged to act on this, "but very rarely."

THE FIRM'S CHIEF Judaica expert, Jay Weinstein, however, devoted a chapter of his book, *A Collector's Guide to Judaica*, to the subject of fakes and forgeries.

Because of the vast range of Judaica, detecting forgeries presents "serious problems for the professional as well as the amateur," he wrote. Weinstein warned of the more common forms of fakery, including the so-called Marrano cup. This is a compendium of Jewish ritual articles including fittings for Hanukkah candles, an Esther scroll and a spicebox, supposedly used by secret Jews hiding their faith from the Spanish Inquisition.

He wrote: "These amusing objects are made in Spain and Israel and are occasionally exemplary specimens of workmanship. But do not believe a dealer who tells you that they date from the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, because they were in fact probably made shortly before your visit to the antique shop."

Further examples of forgeries were given by Iris Fishof, curator of Judaica at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, who has, on several occasions, had the unhappy task of informing people that their precious artifacts were fakes.

Some of the forgers used wit as well as craftiness in their work, she said, turning modern, silver candy containers into 19th-century etrog boxes and ornate umbrella handles into Tora pointers.

Recently Fishof was presented with fake Persian ketubot, and forged Italian wedding rings, and both she and other experts have been informed that fake gold amulets were being circulated.

In addition, said Fishof, "Judaica

objects openly declared by their Swiss manufacturers to be reproductions worth a couple of hundred dollars, have been put on the market here as 18th-century objects worth thousands. These include Hanukkah lamps and Passover plates."

The curator advised people considering the purchase of Judaica to study the subject first. "The more

people become familiar with the genuine items in museums and in catalogues, the less likely they are to be caught," she said.

But, she continued: "Some forgers are excellent craftsmen and even big collectors occasionally buy a fake. I know of one important collector who bought a forgery and keeps it in front of him all the time,

just to remind himself to be careful."

The best proof that an article is genuine, suggested Fishof, was to check its provenance. "If it has been in the same family for generations, you don't have to worry," she said.

People should also only purchase Judaica from dealers who have a good reputation in the trade, added Fishof.

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The Jerusalem Post.

Guess
What's New?
In Jerusalem

See page 7.



(Reuters) OC Northern Command Aluf Yossi Peled (left) with General Antoine Lahad, commander of the SLA, at a memorial service for the SLA's founder Major Saad Haddad. SLA patrol in the security zone.

Bolstering the SLA

Israel's defence establishment has never had high expectations of the South Lebanese Army. One senior defence source says 'They're nothing more than a glorified civil guard.' But despite this, *The Jerusalem Post's* defence reporter Joshua Brilliant finds that the force does have its strong supporters within the IDF.



OC NORTHERN Command Aluf Yossi Peled recently went on an inspection tour of South Lebanese Army positions strung along the northern rim of the security zone. He inspected the earthen embankments and the barriers, made sure the tank crews took the right positions and that the infantrymen were prepared to repel an attack. But in one position, he felt he wasn't getting through to all the men. He turned to one of them and asked: "Don't you want to stay alive?"

The soldier just looked heavenwards and said "Allah hu akbar. God is great."

Such fatalism frustrates Israeli officers training South Lebanese men. The officers, however, did not have very high expectations of the SLA from the start, and one senior IDF source recalled having told a subordinate about to take up a position in southern Lebanon: "Don't expect to turn them into Golani soldiers, because you'll fail."

"They're nothing more than a glorified civil guard," another senior defence source observed.

The 2,000-strong SLA has been trained to man the 24 positions along the northern rim of the security zone, patrol routes to and between them, lay mines and discover them, set ambushes and man roadblocks.

The men have performed satisfactorily in some of these areas. They

have foiled attempts to smuggle car bombs and they have unearthed mines. Since they are organized on a territorial basis and usually serve very close to their own villages they are good at spotting strangers.

Over dinner the other day, an Israeli officer now serving in southern Lebanon recalled sitting with his local bodyguard who, just by looking at passing Lebanese, could tell whether they were Christians, Shi'ites or Druse.

"How do you know?" the officer asked.

"Just by looking at their faces," replied the SLA man. "Can't you recognize an Ashkenazi, a Sephardi and a Yemenite?" "Yes, of course."

"But I can't. To me, all Jews look alike," said the SLA bodyguard.

THE SLA's weaknesses were exposed when Hizbullah and sometimes Amal militiamen expanded their operations. As many as 80 Shi'ite militiamen and moonlighting Shi'ites serving in the Lebanese Army would blast SLA guardposts with RPG and automatic fire to cover the advance of some of their number.

In the past four to five months they have launched about 20 such raids and succeeded in occupying SLA positions, or at least entering them, on eight occasions.

As pressure increased, the SLA soldiers' morale dropped and some

300 men deserted. Most of them had served in frontline positions, reducing the number of men in the fighting battalions to 1,300.

Some were students who said they were quitting because the school year had begun. Others reportedly left because someone from their village had been sacked from his command of a battalion. But many had simply had enough of the SLA. It was becoming too dangerous. Some said they were going to a funeral — and never returned, while others did not even conceal their intention to desert.

"In the SLA, if you want to quit you just go to the arms depot and turn in your gun," an Israeli source said.

The desertions caused serious problems because they were concentrated in a few units; those that were under enemy pressure.

Consequently there were times when too few soldiers were left in SLA positions, and the command, fearing they would be overrun if the enemy attacked, pulled them out.

"One evening, it transpired that at J— there were only seven men, so they were withdrawn," the outgoing CGS Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy recalled recently. "The following day more people were available, so they returned," he said.

NOTWITHSTANDING the shortcomings, the force commanded by General Antoine Lahad has strong supporters in the Israeli defence establishment.

"So they're not all that wonderful. They drag their feet. But they shed blood," one of those supporters argued the other day.

"Don't forget, they're out there all the time. Not like Golani, which is rotated every so often, taken to its home base and pampered."

The fact of the matter is that the SLA positions along the northern rim of the security zone have been taking the brunt of the enemy's fire. Tactically, the enemy could skirt those positions in order to advance towards Israel, but the SLA's presence has become a symbol to them.

"Hizbullah doesn't differentiate between the IDF and the SLA and between Israel and the security zone," a knowledgeable Israeli military source said. "That's in principle. In practice, they don't feel confident enough to attack the IDF. Amal is opposed to attacks on Israel for fear of the IDF's reaction, so they concentrate their own attacks on the SLA and the security zone."

The upshot is that more than 100 SLA soldiers have been killed in the past few months. Israeli sources feel that the southern Lebanese sacrifices have saved many Jewish lives.

DEFENCE SOURCES rooting for the SLA also argue that replacing it

with the IDF could have serious political repercussions.

Moreover, while IDF commanders give the impression that they would not welcome a large-scale return to Lebanon, quitting the area altogether is not a viable alternative. Israeli defence sources maintain that there is no authority which would, and could, assume responsibility for intercepting attacks on Israel. Amal's leader Nabih Berri has rejected Israeli overtures, and his henchmen in the south do not yet have sufficient stature to give significant undertakings and honour them.

Moreover, Amal may be pushed by Hizbullah, which would not be satisfied by a mere Israeli withdrawal to the international border.

Hizbullah's sights are set on Jerusalem, and the extremist Iranian-influenced terrorist organization has recently talked about drawing the IDF back into the Lebanese mire so as to increase its vulnerability to Moslem attacks.

ISRAEL HAS accordingly embarked on several measures to strengthen the SLA.

Basic training has been extended from one month to a two-month programme guided by Israelis. (A prolonged basic-training course such as provided for Israeli infantrymen will not be introduced because IDF officers fear that the militiamen

would not stand the pressure and would quit.)

More Israelis have been assigned to advise the SLA battalions, with officers up to the rank of lieutenant-colonel being paired with their SLA opposite numbers in the security zone for this purpose.

Other measures include heightening the defensive walls surrounding the positions, installing more barbed-wire fences around them and planting mines in between. The number of fighters in each position has also been increased and better weapons have been supplied.

To encourage men to join the force, Israel has raised salaries to \$100-\$150 a month, depending on rank and seniority. The money is even paid in U.S. dollars as a protection against the rapid devaluation of the Lebanese pound.

In addition to the carrot, Israel has been applying a stick: some 850 Lebanese work in Israel, earning \$200-\$400 a month; however, permission to cross the border is now granted only to those who can show that they have relatives in the SLA.

IDF OFFICERS in southern Lebanon have also analysed the raids on the SLA positions. In at least one of them they found that the blue-grey Israeli-supplied tank did not take part in resisting an attack because its crew considered the tank just a can-

THE NATIONAL disunity government was at its lowest ebb this week, engaging in a catch-as-catch-can wrestling match over the state budget. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir appeared to have more problems with his own Herut party, especially Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy, than with Labour. His election threat to better more Herutniks than Labourites, as one supporter of Ariel Sharon sighed: "That's all I need. I'll have to back him up."

Asked about the government's prospects of survival, Levy remarked to me: "Maybe the cake remained whole, but it doesn't taste so good."

Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, bouncing back in a fighting mood from his vacation, complained to "Sareinu" (the forum of Alignment ministers) that "internal Herut strife makes it so difficult to work with the Likud."

Small wonder that when Economics and Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi emerged worn out from one particularly nasty budget wrangle, and was asked why he didn't take a vacation at the Club Med in Eilat, he remarked: "I've got enough with Club Med right here!"

PERES HAS HIS own troubles, particularly with his rampaging director-general Avraham (Abraham) Tamir, who greeted him at the ministry door with an unprecedented attack ("I've decided to take my gloves off and put that mediocre doctor in his place") on Peres's confidence, political director-general Dr. Yossi Beilin. Tamir is upset at what he regards as Beilin lording it over him. Nor is he allowed to forget that he was imposed on Peres by the Labour-

Yahad agreement. Still ranking with Tamir is Peres's statement that "Dr. Beilin is No. 2 at the ministry, on a par with a deputy minister." Did Tamir attack Beilin: a) because he considers Peres to be losing height? and b) was he settling accounts with both Beilin and his boss for his patron, Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman?

PERES FINALLY came to Shamir with Ya'acobi's precedent-setting offer to switch from his Cabinet table to the Washington embassy. In Labour they're hoping that Peres will prove that his recommendation isn't necessarily a recipe for defeat as in such recent cases as Ya'acov Nitzan for state comptroller and Deputy Finance Minister Adiel Amos for Governor of the Bank of Israel.

WHEN SHAMIR visited Argaman in the Jordan Valley, WZO settlement department head Mattityahu Drobles introduced the moshav secretary to him: "Please meet the little David Levy," eliciting the response from Shamir: "He's not all that little." Which reminds me of Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar's reply when asked why he hired a certain other David Levy, a Tel Aviv University student from Beit She'an, as his aide. "I heard there's someone of that name with quite a reputation in government, so I thought I'd have one too."

THE PM'S MEDIA adviser Avi Pazner and his military secretary Tat-Aluf Azriel Nevo flew to Washington mid-week as the advance party for their boss's mission. Shamir is taking with him an unusually large entourage on his airforce plane. It will comprise his wife Shulamit, his director-general and political adviser Yossi Ben-Aharon, Cabinet Secretary Elyakim Rubinstein, his



ARIEL WEINSTEIN

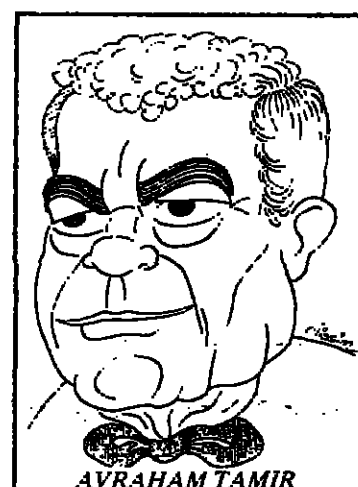
economic adviser Amnon Rubin, his Diaspora liaison Harry Horwitz, Ben-Aharon's secretary Nurit Cnaan, official government press office photographer Hananya Herman, plus a member of Nevo's staff hitch-hiking a free lift to the U.S.

Shamir, in contrast to Peres, has banned the presence of newsmen on his plane. By paying their way, they usually cover much of the special flight's cost. Instead — so it was told — cargo will occupy three-quarters of the aircraft.

PERES'S POLITICAL adviser Nimrod Novik phoned Ben-Aharon on Sunday to dispel any suspicions aroused at the PM's office by a Washington-based report about his Wednesday flight to the U.S. It implied that Peres was sending him to check out on Shamir's talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Novik told me his speaking engagements in Florida at the ADL's national convention and the assembly of Jewish Community Relations Councils were arranged two months ago. He will be in Washington to speak under Aipac auspices,

Welcome to Club Mad

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AVRAHAM TAMIR

and will return home before Shamir's departure for the U.S.

Shamir is taking ex-Bank of Israel whiz-kid Rubin along for his economic talks with Shultz and his meeting in New York with the Task Force's top quartet — Max Fisher, Morton Mondale, Charles Bronfman and Lord Stief of Brimpton. Shamir has just received a letter from Fisher reporting Shultz's glowing tribute to the task force's work, which he termed "a real breakthrough in Israel's economic development."

Fisher further pressed for the formation of a permanent joint body of experts to follow up the implementation of various schemes agreed upon by the government. When Fisher and the rest of the task force come here for consultations towards the end of this month, they will wish to know: "Why has the Minister of Commerce and Industry (Ariel Sharon) not set up one-stop stations for investors?" and "about progress in implementing the agreement to privatize state-owned corporations." One answer — where would Sharon, Levy, Energy Minister Moshe Shahal — to mention only

three ministers — find jobs for their boys?

DEPUTY AGRICULTURE Minister Avraham (Katzle) Katz-Oz has not helped his United Kibbutz Movement in its efforts to obtain government help in bailing it out from its financial crisis by declaring that the kibbutzniks take priority because: "We're the true Israelis."

Maybe he was referring to the tens of millions they lost in financial speculation?

NO WONDER Gush Emunim secretary Daniella Weiss is termed "the queen of the Knesset cafeteria" by many MKs as she struts among its tables to meet with such cabinet patrons as Ariel Sharon. She's very happy with last week's Likud decision to set aside a special NIS 80 million reserve fund for West Bank settlements and development towns. Wonder why Finance Minister Moshe Nissim is so reticent about this decision, taken jointly by Likud ministers and the Knesset Finance Committee? Ariel Weinstein, the quiet-spoken Likud faction head, has come in for praise for his success

in bringing his quarrelsome colleagues to toe the party line.

CHAMBER OF Commerce president Dan Gillerman told me that Bank of Israel Governor Michael Bruno's decision to raise interest rates by a monthly one per cent is a breach of the package deal's clause seven, which commits the government to keep interest rates down.

PRESIDENT Chaim Herzog and his wife Aura returned to Beit Hanassi on an Eilat vacation with a new perspective on Israel — literally. He went up 200 metres high while parasailing, with his wife winning universal admiration by following suit and rising to a height of 80 metres. She told me: "It was a thrilling experience" suspended in mid-air from a parachute kept aloft by a speedboat.

The president left Eilat intent on helping Mayor Rafi Hochman unravel (government) bureaucratic red tape holding up \$170m. on investment schemes for the southern port city.

Herzog will shortly welcome a number of heads of state including the Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg and Italian President Francesco Cossiga. The grand duke and the president are old friends from the days of World War II. They were cadets together at Britain's Royal Military College and fought in the 32nd Guards Armoured Division. Last year Herzog made a state visit to the Grand Duchy.

GRAND MARSHAL of the Luxembourg court, Ambassador Roger Hastert, was here this week preparing the grand duke's visit. While touring Beth Hatofeth, he encountered an old friend, former grand marshal of the royal court of Belgium Herman Liebaers, here on a

private visit. They were both welcomed to the Diaspora Museum by its external affairs director, Miriam Ben-Haim.

THIS WEEK, the premier was warned in advance of his U.S. trip that Soviet Jewry's situation has worsened under Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's rule, with 80 per cent of Jews imprisoned for teaching Hebrew and Jewish culture, arrested since Gorbachev came to power.

The warning came in an American Jewish Committee report submitted by its Israel Office director Shimon Samuels, who told me of growing anxiety that Soviet Jewry's cause was lagging on the superpower agenda.

EX-U.S. PRESIDENT Jimmy Carter will be coming in March at Peres's invitation, when Haifa University will bestow upon him an honorary PhD. University President Ephraim (Eppy) Evron told me that Carter will be cited for his signal contribution to the Camp David peace treaty framework and to the Israel-Egypt peace agreement. Let's hope the American visitor won't be too influenced by the controversial fresco with which art professor Avraham Ofek is covering the university's entrance foyer wall. It has already earned the nickname of "the Ugly Israeli."

TEL HASHOMER Hospital Friends chairman Leah Rabin presided over the dedication of a fresco by sculptor Nehemia Azaz on a wall of the new hospital dining room. Thanking the London-based artist for his donation, she pointed out that the work, depicting shifting sand dunes, would probably be the first encounter with a work of art for large sections of the public.

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Levy accuses

Mark Segal



David Levy

DEPUTY PREMIER and Housing Minister David Levy is an angry man. He accuses his fellow Likud leaders of conducting a no-holds-barred campaign against him. He sees a concerted bid to dodge internal democracy and distort the will of the party rank and file.

Still, nothing is the interrupted party convention, "when all kinds of institutional tricks were employed to break up an elected assembly." Since then, he has appealed for a return to the party membership convention, "against delaying tactics in reconvening the party convention, and on each occasion won his plea."

But Levy abhors "those who seek to distort the will of the elected delegates. Admittedly I've become accustomed to (internal) coalitions being formed against me. I'm used to that by now." (with a sigh). Regarding the convention, "They did all they could to cause people to lose their tempers. It was their aim to avoid any vote that would show the true results. They employed filibusters and cast vile epithets, with one aim in mind - to cause the convention to break up. And they got their way! Then they threw mud at a part of the movement and proceeded to smear me. The movement is living in a vacuum without elected institutions - the result of nearly a year of delaying tactics."

Numerous proposals have been put to him. "They call them compromises, but I know their purpose is to procrastinate further and set each of us against the other," he contends. Levy has come up with the novel idea of having delegates resolve the internal balance of power by direct and secret ballot. His scheme entails submitting to them a form on which are printed the names of the four party factional leaders - Yitzhak Shamir, Moshe Arens, Ariel Sharon and David Levy - each delegate being asked to tick off one of the names.

Q. Wouldn't that be institutionalizing the party factions?
A. "It will reflect things as they are."

Levy explains: "In that way we'll know how matters stand. We'll know who's first and who's second. So they won't be able to distort reality." Yes, he has sounded out the others, and they were very much against his proposal. "They seek to twist the convention's intentions," he declares.

Q. Are they so afraid of you?
A. "What can I do against subjective attitudes motivated by near-panic," came the reply in a resigned tone.

I sought his comment on Prime Minister Shamir's argument that the current internal party debate could lead to Herut's political suicide. That touched a nerve, with the

minister quickly responding: "To talk of suicide is nonsense. We're talking of party democracy. Suicide - that's a new line. Such talk is superfluous."

"What we need is to allow the convention to have its say and vote. It's quite unnecessary to threaten people, just as it's wrong to blacken their names. Then, they talked of hara-kiri and used filibusters. Now, they're threatening us with suicide. I can only wonder what they're planning for us next. They should stop dodging democracy taking its course and reconvene the delegates."

In previous interviews, the deputy premier has said he does not challenge Shamir's primacy at the head of the national unity government. However, were new elections to be called, that was something else altogether. So I asked whether his previous declaration still stands. Levy's unequivocal reply: "If there are new elections I will contest the Likud's nomination for the premiership."

THE METEORIC career of David Levy symbolizes for many the political coming of age of the "Second Israel" - the sum of the large immigrant groups who arrived from Moslem countries in the years following the state's establishment.

Levy was brought into politics via Herut, then the outsiders' party because of the failure of the local Mapai establishment to meet the demands of the rising generation of young immigrants. He became a local leader after organizing his first strike against their kibbutz bosses. Their fight was over a demand for cool drinking water while working in the kibbutz fields. They won. After becoming a skilled building worker, he was pushed to the fore by his workmates.

In the 1965 local elections, Levy won Herut's first seat on the local council, and capitalizing on his pivotal position, became deputy council chairman. He soon began to prove his mettle as an organizer of Herut branches in other development towns in the North. Herut's advent into Histadrut politics where he became joint leader of the party's faction with Yoram Anzor propelled Levy to national attention.

Levy entered the seventh Knesset on the Likud ticket, establishing himself as a national spokesman for development towns. It was then he

drew attention by returning home from Jerusalem every evening to Beit She'an, a custom he has maintained during his years as a cabinet minister.

IN THE 1977 elections, Levy was No. 4 on the list. He offered a solution to Herut's perennial problem, for while the party gets most of its votes from the oriental immigrant communities, its top leadership came from Poland. It was Begin who recognized his potential and when the Likud came to power he became absorption minister, a role supplemented a year later by the housing portfolio. He was lucky in picking Asher Weiner as his first director-general and established an enviable record in tackling the country's troubled housing problems.

By making judicious appointments, he began to build up his national power base, and in the 1981

elections, Levy was No. 2 after Begin. However, when the former Herut leader came to form his government, Levy found himself housing minister but without the absorption portfolio. He displayed a hitherto unknown capacity for political maneuvering, compelling Begin to appoint him deputy premier. They say that Begin never forgave him for that maneuver. But by then Levy was sufficiently strong to survive being high on Begin's famous grudge list.

By then he had overcome the painful period of the Levy jokes, modified his speaking style and alongside Shimon Peres, became the best-dressed man in the Knesset.

After Begin quit, Levy was faced with the realization that the party veterans controlling the party machine sought to keep him in his place. The bitterness of his current

fight is less to do with replacing Shamir than with extracting recognition of himself as successor to the party leadership.

I ASKED him whether the national unity government had not outlived its purpose. The minister prefaced his reply by emphasizing that "it's not a matter of a personal viewpoint," proceeding to remark: "A partnership breaks up when one of the partners wants to end it. After all, personal considerations do not determine results in this matter, but rather the partners' decisions. While the present climate may not cause a fatal crisis, it leaves behind a residual resentment between the two big parties and their ministers, which doesn't promise any long-lasting harmonious relationship."

I pressed him on the prospect of early elections. He is irritated by the way each time the Likud presents its identity card, there is talk of new elections. "I am against the system of presenting ultimatums. The Likud, like the Alignment, has its programme. Instead we should sit down and thrash things out. This system of ultimatums will produce a situation wherein one side is always expected to give in to the other. Giving in for the sake of keeping quiet is not a good policy," he says.

The deputy premier spoke scornfully of the confusing budgetary crisis - "a result of either deception or absent mindedness. Either is bad enough." First, he challenged claims that the cabinet had made any formal decision about bailing out the United Kibbutz Movement. "It's said that the finance minister settled the matter. With all due respect to Mr. Nissim, I must say that the issue was never put to the cabinet. Moreover, the finance minister confessed this week that he'd made a mistake by not seeking the cabinet's endorsement. Well, I ask you, what's one to think about such ministerial behaviour? We've been talking of cutting this or that budget, and then we hear that the finance minister is having second thoughts. Don't get me wrong. I'm not against helping the UKM, just as I'm for aiding development towns and fulfilling the coalition agreement in respect of new settlements."

Levy thought it should be made clear that when talking of staggering kibbutz debts, it meant the government's deducting millions from the budget to enable the UKM to repay over 20 years at 7-8 per cent per annum. "Labour talks of inflation being sparked by helping development towns and settlements. And bailing out the UKM won't cause inflation? Is one form of aid kasher and the other meif? It's an insult to people's intelligence," he declares.

The minister was angry at what he regards as Labour's bid to pitch the

development towns against the Judea and Samaria settlements. He mentioned his role in conferring on the towns equal levels of government aid in proportion to their distance from the main centres of population. He found it reprehensible that Vice Premier Peres should seek to foster enmity between two categories of citizens "as if both did not settle by government design." Levy stresses that the Likud has not undertaken to implement Labour's ideology. The government's basic lines of policy must be honoured in all respects.

He was most upset about Deputy Agriculture Minister Avraham Katz-Oz's declaration. "We are the true Israelis" at the UKM central committee. "I thought we'd done with such talk. I've been through the growing processes of our society like the rest. I'd hoped we'd all learned the right lessons. Suddenly we're thrust back 30 years. All that applause he got, and what's worse nobody got up to protest, to disassociate themselves from such arrogant talk. That's sad. I'm on good personal terms with many members of neighbouring kibbutzim, especially Hefziba. A kibbutz girl has been most helpful to my wife with our children," he said in deep regret.

Levy's anger increases when queried about the criticism of him on the television news by Labour's WZO settlement department head Nissim Zivli. The latter rapped Levy for insisting on setting up six new West Bank settlements, while those in Galilee, Golan and the Jordan Rift were in deep trouble. "In turn I can ask where he was when the moshavim's crisis peaked? I was the first minister to succour the Jordan Rift settlements and the first to raise their distress at cabinet level. He challenges my authority? I'm only seeking implementation of the coalition agreement. We only encounter Zivli making speeches at inaugural ceremonies of new settlements."

Yet, I pressed, Peres commented last week that Levy was "not the only member of the cabinet talking of new settlements." The minister nodded his head in affirmation. "No one said I was. I'm talking of coalition basic policy lines that have to be upheld. When he signed the agreement, he knew what he was signing."

Did it not come down to the quality of Premier Shamir's leadership? Levy picked his words carefully. "The truth is indivisible. There are basic lines of policy, and we must be vigilant in their observation. Perhaps someone thinks that we can sacrifice them for the sake of peace and quiet, well I don't." He adds, "You don't really expect me to hand out points, do you?"

THE DEPUTY premier disclosed that, at his initiative, a meeting was

held last Wednesday of Likud ministers together with the party caucus on the Knesset Finance Committee. They emerged with the unanimous resolution to commission the finance minister to set up a special reserve fund for development towns and for Judea and Samaria. He added, "So who's dividing us up into moderates and extremists? That's deception and the truth must come out! It's a scenario written by Kafka!"

Yet he does frequently stand alone against the others (as in voting for taking the IDF out of Lebanon, or against the economic programme). Levy concedes to being a non-conformist. "Sometimes I say things that others find unpleasant to hear. I don't allow myself to conform against my inner convictions. Do you remember that in my interview with you about the 1985 economic programme I warned of its dire consequences and that high interest rates would cause firms to collapse? I was the target of vilification and there were demands for my dismissal. The government will now have to pay for the consequences. With all the positive results of reducing inflation, we're now in deep water because of the burden of the interest rates. I warned the government, as the records of cabinet discussions show. Those who today assail the interest rates policy behave like a man seeking to down the child he fathered."

The deputy premier has acquired a reputation for not being too doctrinaire, as witnessed by his vote for the withdrawal from Lebanon. On the issue of an international conference he sees eye-to-eye with Shamir, the Likud line being that Israel would have automatic minority status at such a forum. Levy sees no reason for disbanding the coalition on this issue which, in any case, he does not see as an immediate item in international diplomacy.

The minister has emerged fairly unbruised from a serious shake-up among senior ministry officials, mostly members of his party faction. While his adversaries crowded over his unstable administration, less partisan observers praised him for taking the necessary steps to replace unsuitable appointees. Not that those removed were cast out into the cold - they all ended up in cushy ministry jobs elsewhere. All told, the changes were to Levy's satisfaction.

Generally speaking he encounters daily expressions of comradeship among the party rank-and-file, "if not," he adds smilingly, "among the party functionaries. I get a warm feeling from people. A soldier will shout to me: 'Keep it up!' or when stopping at traffic lights, a driver in a neighbouring car will convey encouraging words. It's compensation for all the bitterness and acrimony."

HOW COME? by SARAH HONIG

The Likud's hidden ace for state comptroller

EATING CROW must have taught Romni Milo a lot. He has long served as the prime minister's unofficial trouble-shooter and strategist, when the Knesset or one of its committees has been called upon to elect anyone to high office.

When Menachem Begin entrusted him with ensuring that Justice Menachem Elion was elected president of Israel, Milo was so self-confident that he bet a million (old) shekels on the outcome. He lost it. Labour's candidate, Chaim Herzog, was elected.

Somewhere along the line Milo miscalculated, and it is still something of a mystery just what went wrong. It was a clear case of a poker hand played very badly.

What happened last week over the election of a new state comptroller was reminiscent of the Likud's bad poker. But this time the shoe was on the other foot.

As in the past, the Likud ended up fielding a political unknown. This time the ace up its sleeve was Tel Aviv District Court Judge Ya'acov Malz. Few on the Knesset House Committee, meeting to elect the new comptroller even knew his name. If they'd had more time, they would have discovered that, though Malz is not a party member, his opinions are close to what is called the National Camp. Anonymity, however, was no handicap this time, largely because Labour mishandled things in a way which, in retrospect, few in the party could account for.

Labour would not have found itself with egg on its collective face and Vice Premier Shimon Peres not renege on his explicit deal with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir that they would agree in advance on all candidates for top state office. They would, in fact, choose a joint candidate.

WHEN THE CHOICE of a new state comptroller was already overdue, ministers Haim Corfu (Likud) and Moshe Shahal (Labour) were entrusted with picking a common big-party candidate for the job.

Shahal later told friends in his party that "the Likud did not insist on press, and Corfu was a perfect gentleman."

Corfu did not back his own party's candidate, saying only that a candidate with a political ID tag was unacceptable for the sensitive post and suggesting that they agree on a neutral judge.

Labourites now regret not having acquiesced, as they could have had a say in determining who the judge would be. Shahal and Corfu made no real attempt after that to come to an agreement.

But the state comptroller's job seemed to be good political pickings. At a Labour ministerial caucus, Peres insisted that the next holder be a Labour man. He stuck to his position throughout the entire episode, and his obstinacy has been pointed to in the party as the primary cause for its embarrassment over the outcome. But none of the Labour pundits could quite explain why it was that Peres was so immovable.

AT THE LABOUR caucus, Peres announced that his candidate was the long-time civil service commissioner Ya'acov Nitzan (who, incidentally, was Golda Meir's ally and Peres's own foe in the battles which shook the Labour movement in the 1960s). Peres exhorted his party members to back Nitzan at the hill. Labour must win this time, he declared: it was a matter of credibility.

There was no talking him out of his insistence, despite attempts by Shahal, party secretary-general Uri



Ya'acov Malz. (N. Shorer/Media)

Baram, Coalition Executive chairman Rafi Edri and MK David Liba'i.

Almost as soon as the caucus was over, Peres made his way to the Prime Minister's Office to inform Shamir that he wanted Nitzan as state comptroller. Sources close to Shamir say he was taken aback and pointed out that Nitzan was too politically identified for the job. He again proposed that they together choose a non-partisan candidate, but Peres flatly refused.

In his own quiet manner, sources close to Shamir reported to The Post, "Shamir was livid." At this point, he instructed Milo that he must make absolutely sure that in no circumstances would a Labour politician be elected state comptroller.

IT WAS WAR. Labour, despite itself, was backing Nitzan, and the Likud ostensibly put its weight behind the National Religious Party's former director-general of the Interior Ministry, Haim Kubersky.

That was a politically clever move. The Likud could not be accused of backing its own party member and there could be no better way of getting chummy with the NRP and of showing the other Likud allies who their real friends are.

Kubersky's chances looked good. Eleven of the 12 votes needed to elect him were in the Likud's pocket. Tami's Aharon Abuhateira was the one man who could clinch it and he even promised to do so.

But Kubersky didn't make it. When the Knesset House Committee convened for the first vote, Abuhateira did not bother to show up. Thus neither side mustered the required majority. At this point both parties ditched their original candidates.

The man now suggested by Labour was Shimon Shetret, professor and a member of Labour's central committee. His chief asset was his Moroccan origin.

Edri and other Labour MKs were now hectically trying to drum up support for Shetret among the "Moroccans" and Sephardim in the Likud orbit. Raphael Pinhasi of Shas and David Danino of the NRP were each ushered into one of the Labour rooms in the Knesset.

Danino later reported having been told that it was now entirely dependent on him whether the new comptroller would be a Sephardi or not. He finally caved in, as did Pinhasi. Abuhateira, too, was located and brought to the Knesset.

MEANWHILE, the Likud was doing its own switch with an eye to winning the support of Shinui and the Citizens Rights Movement.

Likud strategists realized that the small parties distrusted the big-party candidates, and especially Labour's. They wanted a clean professional untainted by a political past. This

was the Likud's great chance. It decided to propose a judge.

The small parties were caucused in Shinui's Knesset office. This was the first time Tehiya's Geula Cohen was ever there, and the first time she and the CRM's Yossi Sarid had spoken to each other since the bitter exchanges in the wake of the Shin Bet affair. Cohen exhorted the small parties to "be big for a change."

This camaraderie was perhaps too much for representatives of Mapam and Hadash to stomach and they left the room. Those remaining agreed that they would support only a judge. The question now was which judge.

The Likud's Micha Reiser, the House Committee's chairman, had suggested Ya'acov Tirkel of Beer-sheba. But the real ace up the Likud's sleeve was Judge Malz.

MK Dov Shilansky had mentioned Malz's name to Shamir in the early stages of the saga. The prime minister sent Shilansky to Milo, who passed him on to Shahal, through whom Peres was to have been sounded out. No reply ever came.

Several weeks later, Reiser actually asked Malz if he would run. Malz wanted his name kept out of the media while the waters were being tested. The NRP agreed to him as a back-up candidate to Kubersky.

Sarid and Zeidan Atshe of Shinui rejected Reiser's candidate Tirkel, assuming that he is close to the Likud. That left Malz. At this point it was not even clear if he was in the running.

Reiser phoned him to find out if he was standing or not. Malz wanted 10 minutes to think. Reiser refused him even one. Malz said yes.

WHEN REISER came back with the answer, the Likud-small parties alliance was forged. Sarid was the first to sign the endorsement for Malz's nomination, but the one man who refused to sign was Danino. It was at this point that everyone realized what Labour had up its own sleeve.

Milo raced in panic to the NRP leaders. He was now collecting on the Likud's support for Kubersky. NRP MK Prof. Avner Shaki ex-

plained to Danino that he was putting himself alongside Abuhateira, who had foiled Kubersky, and all to put a Labour man in the job.

The NRP leaders needed time to sway Danino. Milo went to the committee and drew out the proceedings by delivering a long address on the merits of having a judge in the post. While he was at it, Burg entered and announced that he was replacing Danino as the NRP's representative on the committee.

Realizing that their cause was lost, Labour dropped Shetret and stuck it out with the original candidate Nitzan, who got only six votes. The bandwagon effect brought 16 for Malz. It was said later in the Labour party that Peres caused its defeat by pressing too hard for a political candidate.

The small parties, left, right, secular and religious, have set a precedent which they could use in their own common interest in future.

After the vote, Milo immediately phoned Shamir to announce that he had delivered the goods. Shamir said he was very gratified with the choice.

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IT WAS WAR. Labour, despite itself, was backing Nitzan, and the Likud ostensibly put its weight behind the National Religious Party's former director-general of the Interior Ministry, Haim Kubersky.

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"FOUL," cried the public when Agudat Yisrael's Avraham Shapira threw into the pile of extra demands on the budget a request for special funding for the yeshivot. And "foul" again, when he proclaimed that, as chairman of the all-powerful Knesset Finance Committee, he would permit no further discussion of the budget until his demands were met. But in the Knesset, parliamentarians were much calmer.

"It's all part of the system," says Shulamit Aloni (Citizens Rights Movement), "and it began before the state. Ben-Gurion chose to perpetuate a system of hand-outs and of shovels because it would entrench his power and the power of his Mapai party."

Aloni rejects the claim made by Tami's Aharon Abuhatzra that Ben-Gurion's wooing of the religious parties sprang from a concern for public opinion in the Diaspora and from a desire to give the country some religious character. "Not at all," she says. "He simply used them. He needed them and bribed them to make sure he had a majority and could govern."

Where she and Abuhatzra agree is that Ben-Gurion found the Mizrahi and Hapoel Hamizrachi (now the National Religious Party) easy partners, for they were prepared to stick to their religious last and the religious legislation that they managed to push through did not worry him. B-G had no special concern for civil rights, Aloni points out.

Abuhatzra, himself a product of the NRP, insists that the party had no financial claims. He and Aloni both point to the first blatant instance of "extortion" — Ben-Gurion's agreement to the Aguda opening its own bank in return for the party's support of the continuation of a military government.

The post-B-G Labour Party made a big mistake, Abuhatzra believes, in having taken the NRP for granted.

"They thought they would always have us in their pockets, that we would be forever satisfied to confine ourselves to religious legislation. But a new generation was growing up that thought it should have a say in other areas. With the Likud victory of 1977, we saw our chance and we took it, over the opposition of Yosef Burg, and negotiated with the Likud."

But a new competitor for the bounties of the government entered the picture with the rise of the Begin government — the Aguda, which Aloni claims Begin fostered and built up into its present powerful position. This non-Zionist party's special appeal for Begin, she says, lay in its ability to provide him with a religious underpinning for his concept of the chosen people embattled in a gentle world, and for his territorial claims to entire Eretz Yisrael.

And he was prepared to pay generously for Aguda support. Abuhatzra points to the way in which Aguda's Shlomo Lorincz exploited his position as Shapira's predecessor in the Finance Committee, wresting from the Treasury the then considerable sum of IL32 million. That, says Abuhatzra, was over and above the grants for all yeshivot that the NRP had already won for distribution through his Religious Affairs Ministry.

But Lorincz's money, says Abuhatzra, was to be distributed by his party alone. Two years later came the Aguda's big breakthrough when, in a deal with then finance minister Yoram Aridor, a system of specially earmarked budgets was set up and Aguda won a substantial sum for its own institutions. Not that the NRP were far behind, and they, too, made and won their claims for funds.

LABOUR'S Aharon Harel points out that in the last budget, these earmarked funds for religious institutions have swelled to NIS 12m., compared with NIS 1m. that Labour and the Likud combined can distribute.

What Harel finds reprehensible about Shapira's demand is its flouting of the recent recommendations made by the state comptroller and backed by the attorney-general — that these disbursements be in accordance with properly established criteria. Further, says Harel, the state comptroller has also taken Aguda institutions to task for their improper procedures.

"I'm not against voting money to the religious parties," he says. "But these recommendations must be observed, and the money must be voted within the framework of the

budget. I don't want the religious to be financially disadvantaged. Religious sectors that serve the state — and for me that definitely includes army service — are entitled to have their special needs met." Harel makes it clear that Aguda and Shas, the Sephardi ultra-Orthodox party, do not enter his calculations.

Labour, he hopes, will make a stand on Shapira's demand. But he doesn't sound too convinced that it will. It's all part and parcel of the erosion of Labour values that is a consequence of the national unity government.

SHINUI's Mordechai Virshubski sounded bitter about the participation of the religious parties in the national unity government. Neither major party needed the religious, he believes. But both subscribe to the fallacy that no government in Israel — where government has always meant coalition — can do without them.

"Both believe in the myth of the religious parties' loyalty. But even the so-called 'historic partnership' between the Labour Party and the NRP was simply a matter of the latter's self-interest."

For him, the difference between the NRP and the Aguda is only one of emphasis. Both, as he sees it, strive to transform Israel from a state of law into a halachic state, and the national unity government offers them even greater possibilities of success, since they have two partners to choose from in exerting their pressures.

"Of course they permit themselves to be paid off financially from time to time when their big brothers can't deliver the goods. Every time the 'Who's a Jew' issue fails, some more or less immediate monetary consolation prize is offered them."

Labour, Virshubski indicates, had lacked the guts in 1984 to insist on a partnership with the Likud alone. But it had been the Likud that was adamant about taking in the religious parties. Both, he believes, had had little confidence that the national unity government would hold, and thus both had sought to hedge their bets and take a position in which they could seem to be the patrons of the religious parties.

But Labour, he says, can never hope to compete with the Likud in readiness and ability to buy the religious. A large section in Labour will

refuse to go beyond a certain point in wooing the religious. But the Likud, which has substantial religious membership and support, will always be ready and able to outbid Labour.

THAT VIEW seems to be borne out by Dan Meridor, of the Likud, who is on record as having said that the Likud should and would continue Begin's policy of alliance with the religious which brought it to power in 1977 and kept it firmly in the saddle until 1984.

Even Ariel Weinstein, a member of the Liberal wing of the Likud, was at pains to point out to *The Jerusalem Post* that "something like 20 per cent of our members are religious."

Both Aloni and Virshubski stress that the hold the small religious parties have over the two large parties is what Virshubski terms "an abuse of democracy." In effect, they point out, 80 per cent of the population has been forced to conform to the religious dictates of 20 per cent in many areas of life.

Aloni's remedy — though it does not seem to solve the problem of funding for yeshivot — would be to take the provision of religious services out of the national political arena and make it a matter for local government. At that level, she believes, it would be easier to ensure an equitable distribution of funds and direct voter control over their disbursement.

But since that panacea seems politically unrealistic, we are more likely to see instead a perpetuation, possibly even a deepening of the strange shenanigans that Aloni points to in Labour: the spectacle of a secular Shimon Peres, or any successor, taking a leaf out of Begin's book and, upon becoming prime minister, donning a large black kippa and making post-haste for the Western Wall before repairing, with equal speed, to a Sephardi sage to study Talmud.

Perhaps, granted the intense competition between the two large parties for the support of the religious, is not quite "extortion" the appropriate term for what some, maybe most, people see as the milking of the state by the religious parties. The Talmudic sages summed it up when they noted that the cow is even more desirous of sucking than the calf is of sucking.



TV technicians with Sion Swery (centre rightstanding) argue their case with Zalman Shekman (centre), chairman of the technicians' union.

Return of the Kokonuts

Teleview/Philip Gillon

WHATEVER became of old Koka? For the uninitiated, I am referring to the leader of the television technicians when they closed down Israel Television on a previous occasion. Hence, they were dubbed the Kokonuts.

Their present leader is a certain Sion Swery, but I'll be damned if I am going to call such enemies of the human race Sionists. So Kokonuts they shall remain forever for me.

Their action in turning off the switch on Tuesday night — one of our best nights — inspired feelings of deep revulsion in me, utter loathing, black hatred and profound contempt, to express my feelings as mildly as possible. In this, I was doubtless at one with the entire population of the country. Whether the Kokonuts are in the right in their argument with management is irrelevant: their blows were not directed at Uri Porat, the director-general of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, who probably never watches television anyway, judging from the programmes he allows to be selected, but at millions of innocent viewers, who never did them any harm.

So I urge all readers again, as I did during that previous strike, to devote 10 minutes, at sundown and in the morning, to hating the Kokonuts.

Nevertheless, I must confess that I am probably the only man in the entire land who ever had a kindly thought about these infernal Kokonuts. It was only a brief, infinitesimally tiny thought that flashed across my mind, but it was there, and, because of its rarity, I must mention it. I experienced a distinct feeling of gratitude to the Kokonuts at 0030 hours on Monday, when they switched off that awful, boring All-Star basketball game.

Nobody in the world enjoys watching sport on television more than I do. I prefer seeing the real thing, but the canned substitute can be very enjoyable. But the sport has to be genuinely competitive, there has to be honest endeavour and a desire to win. This applies to every sport — I hate tennis exhibitions, in which a player fakes it so that his "opponent" will win.

Sometimes, of course, we can be very amused by something presented honestly as mere entertainment and not sport, as, for instance, when the Harlem Globetrotters put on a basketball show. This so-called All-Star game bore a pale resemblance to the Globetrotters; but it was like amateur night in the village hall compared to a professional performance. I have a strong suspicion that

several performers in the All-Star show, who are getting a bit long in the tooth, were hoping that a talent scout for the Globetrotters was in the audience, and might pick them for tryouts. Larry Bird looked so sad about it all that I thought he was trying out for the part of Hamlet.

As if the so-called action was not inept enough, for every two minutes of play we had 20-minute intervals to allow the sponsors of this awful event to urge viewers to use their soap, depilatories, shaving cream, perfume or other aids to beauty. Fortunately for us, we were spared the ennu of these affronts to human intelligence. Instead we had commentaries by current and former players.

Since they really had nothing to comment on, we can hardly blame them for being so fatuous. I noticed that the American commentators, who are normally so profound and interesting as they analyse the plays, strategy and tactics, were reduced to the Israeli style of commentary — "that's Dr. J. passing to Moses Malone, who passes to Larry Bird, who throws for the basket — oh, he's missed it!" I don't blame those commentators either — there were no plays, tactics or strategies on which they could comment.

The question has to be asked — why in the name of sanity did Israel Television spend \$15,000 on this junk? For a fraction of the money they could have acquired Amos Mansdorf's tennis game against the monster, although admittedly not live at a reasonable hour. Many Israeli sport fans were interested in seeing that match. Perhaps we could have heard the charming comments made by McEnroe as the players changed over. Surely they did some research, before investing all that money? Did nobody tell them that the All-Star game was not meant to be taken seriously? Any NBA game would have been better value.

Astute readers, although doubtless impressed by my analysis of the shortcomings of the game, may be asking querulously what all this has to do with my moment of gratitude to the Kokonuts. If I was so bored and exasperated by the game, why didn't I just switch off the set and go to bed, without the intervention of the technicians?

This question ignores the basic laws of a true TV aficionado like me — we never go to sleep voluntarily while anything is being telecast. We may nod or even snore in our

armchairs, but we will stay there till the bitter end, till the last strains of Hatikva have competed with the booting of the owls. How can we get value for the colossal licence fees we pay, if we are not true to the faith of the viewer, by watching anything and everything, however dull it may be?

So, when the night's viewing was brought to a precipitate end and I could toddle off to bed with a clear conscience, I had that flash of thanksgiving to the villains who had made it possible for me to have a comparatively early night.

There are some people whom I know, love and respect, and even revere for their wisdom and courage, who select programmes carefully, and prefer sleeping in their beds to doing so in their armchairs. But they are not genuine TV viewers.

THE GREAT debate of the week, before the strike hit us, was about whether the settlers on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, not to mention students in yeshivot, are halutzim carrying on the noble traditions of the Second and Third Aliyot, and hence entitled to all the benefits, plus more, that were promised to members of kibbutzim and moshavim.

The subject cropped up not only in the news, but also in *This is the Time*. And Housing Minister David Levy delivered a particularly passionate and demagogic speech on the theme in Hebron, where he promised to continue building, come hell or high water. I noticed that these pioneering activities — the actual building — were being effected by some elderly Arabs.

I trust that nobody will dare to open the graves of A.D. Gordon in Deganya Aleph or of David Ben-Gurion at Sde Boker. Anybody doing so would find the incumbents spinning like Hanukkah tops.

ZE'EV REVAH, the actor-producer, told a marvellous story of the Meni Peer show, about how a Yemenite friend got him to perform at his son's bar mitzva, by telling him that his aged father was immensely rich and a potential "angel" ready to finance a film. The father's only demand was that Revah had to outline the plot in biblical terms and with a Yemenite accent. The result was hilarious. Naturally, the story of the father's wealth was all a bluff.

But another of his stories, about his mother and a black actor, must have struck sensitive people as distinctly racist. The fact that Pe'er and the audience were quite oblivious to this, and did not feel uncomfortable about it, made it even worse.

CONCERN is mounting among Jewish emigration activists in the Soviet Union and their supporters abroad that the recently launched Soviet propaganda and disinformation campaign on Soviet Jewry may cause great harm to the movement. Several Israeli officials, including Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur and Jewish Agency Aliya Department head Haim Aharon, this week cautioned the media and the public not to be fooled by the disinformation campaign.

There are several fronts to the campaign, and the Soviets, aided by some naive journalists as well as fellow travellers, have shown significant success. In the midst of all the noise surrounding Gorbachev's *glasnost* extravaganza, the Soviets are tightening the reins on Soviet Jews, greatly limiting the total number eligible to emigrate. (The new emigration laws, which came into effect on January 1, stipulate for the first time that only parents, children or siblings of emigrants will be eligible to apply for visas to be reunited with their families — thus, only some 30,000 of the at least 400,000 Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate are now eligible to do so.)

Under *glasnost*, the news of Soviet disasters is no longer suppressed, Sakharov and many other dissidents have been freed, Pasternak has been rehabilitated, and far-reaching reforms of the Soviet system have been announced. Of course these are welcome developments.

But for Soviet Jews, Gorbachev's "openness" is little more than a bitter taunt. They are stunned by the failure of the Western media to challenge the Kremlin on the issue of freedom of emigration for Soviet Jews.

OVER 30,000 Jews left the Soviet Union in the last 20 years, before the big freeze of the 1980s. Yet when 50 of the emigrants living in America decide to go back to the USSR, it's front-page news all over the world, even in some Israeli newspapers. No one questions what it's all about, whether a few of them might have been Soviet agents all along, or notes that the number — even if it reaches 1,000, as Soviet officials claim — is infinitesimal when compared to the number who have left Russia. There are always people who long for the

Gorbachev's 'openness' campaign

No cause to celebrate

Louis Rapoport

country where they grew up, who miss their culture and language, even their enslavement — as was evidenced by the Israelites in Sinai who pined for the fleshpots of Egypt.

When an American Jewish Communist Party member in Texas, a sad-sack pharmacologist named Arnold Lockshin, takes his family and moves to the "freedom" of the USSR, he attracts a carnival of publicity, and provides ammunition to the enemies of the Soviet Jewish cause.

Recently, the Soviets allowed an American talk-show host, considered to be a friendly humanist type, to take television cameras to Chernobyl for the first time since the disaster. Then the emcee tackled the Jewish problem. The talk-show host — amiable, lightweight Phil Donahue — wanted to give the 400,000 Jews who wish to emigrate equal time with the handful of Soviet Jews who have returned. The Jews who boycotted the programme. The Soviets liked Donahue's style enough to air his interview of Arnold Lockshin.

Last week, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry told Reuters that 500 exit visas had been issued last month, and that "thousands of cases were under review." But as Minister Tsur said this week: "We want facts, not hints."

The fact is that only 98 people were allowed to leave the Soviet Union in January, the first month of Gorbachev's new era in emigration. Soviet Jews who have been struggling for so many years to be able to

see their loved ones again in Israel or the U.S. must long for the days of "closedness" under Brezhnev — in 1979, thousands of Jews were leaving every month, and a total of over 51,000 left in that peak year.

ONE OF the sad facts that Soviet Jews will have to face is that there are some newscasters in the West who are not only enthralled by the "revolutionary" Gorbachev, but who are also highly hostile to the cause of Jewish freedom. One, who also works for an Israeli newspaper, says he's "sick of the refuseniks — they're just a bunch of kvetches." (Undoubtedly, he too might complain a bit, if attacked by an eye-gouging criminal in a labour camp, as was Joseph Berenshtein, or if he was not allowed to see his children or parents for 10 years.)

The Western media wants to believe in Gorbachev. That might be one of the reasons for the wishful broadcasts we heard this week stating that seven prisoners of Zion were among the four dozen or so political prisoners who were amnestied. In fact, only one — Roald Zelikhenok — was released.

One of the dissidents freed from notorious Chistopol prison reported that Yosef Begun, the 50-year-old Hebrew teacher who has become the symbol of Jewish resistance in the USSR, not only was not about to be released, but was in serious condition following a hunger-strike and continual ill-treatment. But the news got lost in the shuffle.

Amid the celebrations for the released political prisoners, reports persisted that Begun would be released. On Sunday, Radio Liberty, the U.S.-funded radio station beamed to East Europe and the USSR, broadcast reports in Russian that Begun had been freed. But the prisoner's wife, Inna, when called in Moscow, had heard nothing from the Soviet authorities, and it appeared to be little more than added mental torture for the Beguns.

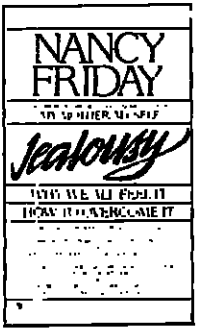
In the coming months, the media will be challenged again and again to properly assess Gorbachev's moves. What cause is there for celebration over the great "reforms" if they don't include the most basic issue: the fundamental freedom of emigration?

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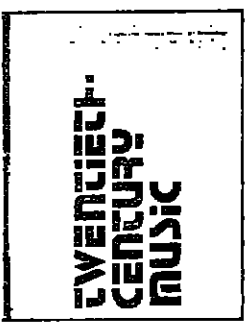


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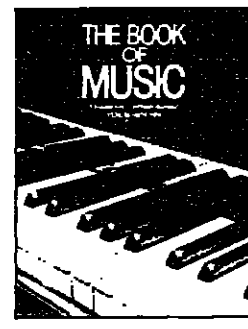


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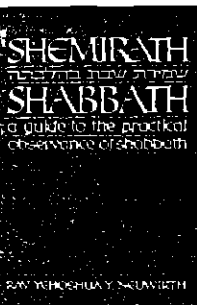
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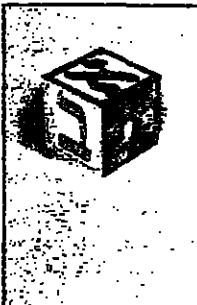
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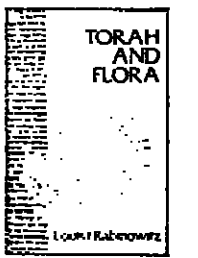
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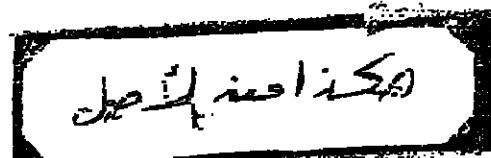
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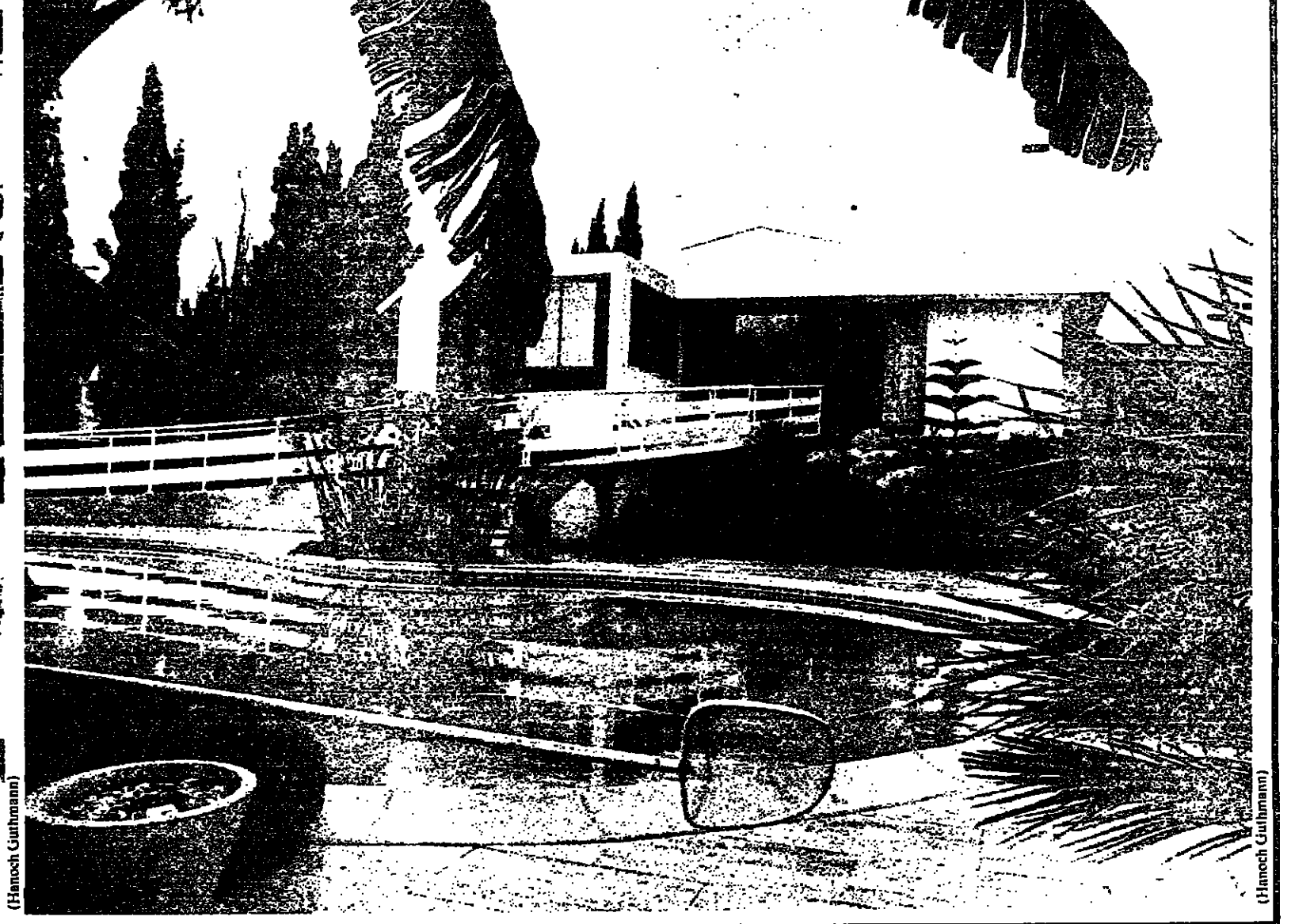
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Quality of life in 'the Kfar'

Paul Kohn

ON Tu B'Shvat, Kfar Shmaryahu starts celebrating its golden jubilee. The peaceful, verdant village, today a prestigious residential suburb of Tel Aviv, is a far cry from the little chicken farming community set up 50 years ago by a group of 50 founder families, all from Germany, except one family from Norway.

For one thing, "the Kfar" has grown to 600 families. Yet if any place in Israel can lay claim to a high quality of life, blending the rural with the residential, it is Kfar Shmaryahu. Here, senior citizens stroll with their dachshunds to the background cackle of turkeys, stopping in their tracks to watch an outdoor hockey game.

Down the narrow road, riders in black riding caps and breeches can be seen atop beautifully groomed horses as they participate in dressage and show jumping competitions at the local "Jockey Club." Other hardy types are taking their winter swim in a fine pool under what appears to be a large white barrage balloon that has landed on the village lawn. Outside, they are playing tennis at grounds once known as "The Baghdad Mountain," because of its former Iraqi owner.

The village council and residents of Kfar Shmaryahu adhere strictly to its zoning laws which permit a maximum of two houses, and only if they belong to the same family, on plots

ranging in size from one to 10 dunams. This has enabled the village to retain expansive green spaces.

Some of the villas of Kfar Shmaryahu, their lovely gardens, private swimming pools and tennis courts, would not be out of place in Beverly Hills, and offer some of the best examples of Israeli architecture. As a result, Kfar Shmaryahu claims the most desirable few dunams of real estate in all of Israel.

Its residents, old and new, are united in their determination to keep Kfar Shmaryahu the way it is - an independent village. In the past, there have been hints that Interior Ministry bureaucrats were toying with the idea of a merger, which would mean submerging the town into neighbouring Herzliya's municipal orbit.

The harmonious mood of the village also spills over into the local council. All its seven members, six elected on a local list, form a coalition. "We have no deficit, not any debts," says Shraga Milstein, the chairman of the council. "Our rates are low, because much of the public work is done by volunteers. We don't need supervisors to control cleanliness outside our houses and we have no need for fines in Kfar Shmaryahu."

"We do not want to alter the character of Kfar Shmaryahu or change things just for the sake of so called improvements."

BUT CHANGE there has been. Kfar Shmaryahu was established in

1937 as Rassco's first "middle class agricultural village." From its conception it was earmarked for Jews who had decided to get out of Nazi Germany.

The Jewish Agency came to an agreement with the German government whereby Jewish families would be allowed to leave with the equivalent of 1,000 Palestine pounds. That money would pay for a farm of 10 dunams, a chicken run with 300 chickens, a barn with three cows and a modest house ranging in size from 45 to 70 square metres.

The newcomers to these small, market-gardening farms were all persons who previously had no experience in agriculture, but were lawyers, doctors, businessmen, accountants, master carpenters, and the like, in Germany. Some were fully assimilated, and few among them considered themselves Zionists before arriving in the country.

Among the first settlers was 14-year-old Ruth Schloss, today one of Israel's internationally best known painters. As she prepared last week for an exhibition of her works in Berlin she recalled that her father, Ludwig Schloss, was considered a capitalist wholesaler in paper and carton and was also politically active for the Social Democrats in southern Germany. "Our family was totally German, and it was the Nazis who returned us forcefully to our Jewishness," she said.

"Yet once they decided to come to Palestine and become farmers, they were sabbat at it with a total dedication, 12 hours a day, without ever complaining. By day we would plant trees, tomatoes and asparagus and in the evenings would read books and play classical music on Steinway pianos which had been brought over from Germany. I remember the great sense of achievement it gave us when we sold our first crate of radishes for five mils," Ruth Schloss related.

Her father was appointed head of the Kfar Shmaryahu farming cooperative. German was the language of the village.

Such was the calibre of these immigrants that they took to their new lives with a gritted-teeth determination. There was no electricity, roads

or any kind of infrastructure. Some lived in their chicken runs or barns as they awaited the completion of their dwellings, recalled Alisa and Emanuel Maor, who with their parents were also among the first settlers. Maor now is director of the Properties Department of Clal.

Maor recalled how his father, Dr. Ernst Mueller, used to ride his donkey to pay calls on Arab patients who lived near the Sidai Ali mosque, which today is a seafront landmark. The area now known as Herzliya Pituah and Nof Yam were grazing grounds for Beduin, and one of the first jobs the newcomers of Kfar Shmaryahu had to undertake jointly was to fence their 600 dunams with barbed wire to keep out the Beduin flocks of sheep and goats and the thieves. They also laid a sandstone track around the village.

THE LAND on the ridge above, where Herzliya Pituah and Herzliya Bet are now built, and the original 600 dunams of Kfar Shmaryahu, was owned by "Kehilat Zion," a group of American investors, who in the 1920s bought it from Arabs. Rassco acquired the Kfar Shmaryahu land from Kehilat Zion.

The new village was named after Shmaryahu Levin, the Zionist orator and writer who settled in Eretz Yisrael in 1924.

One of the very first things the newcomers of Kfar Shmaryahu did was to dig a well, which is still in use today. They set up a water company and a farming cooperative for marketing produce and joint purchases. They also founded a synagogue, the first services being held in a barn. Local volunteers formed their own Hevra Kadisha burial society.

The spirit of growth of Kfar Shmaryahu came after the establishment of the state. In 1951, a group of new arrivals from Yugoslavia joined the yekkes. A third group to settle were sabras who had completed military service moving here under Ben Gurion's "From the town to village" scheme. They were followed by the first batch of people who did not farm - some 30 Jewish Agency and Ministry of Agriculture officials. They obviously recognized a good thing when they saw it.

THE South Africans came next. In 1954, a group of 20 South African families, some already in Israel, others still in South Africa, approached Rassco and were allocated plots of one and a quarter dunams each of JNF land with the proviso that they build their homes within two years. Among these settlers were the Dunsky brothers,

David, Zelig and Israel, who was a former president of the South African Zionist Federation and later became the long-serving chairman of the Kfar Shmaryahu local council.

Actually, the first South African to make his home in Kfar Shmaryahu, before World War Two, was Lionel Pyetan (Feitelberg), of Durban, who became the first director of the Government Press Office in Tel Aviv. Louis Pincus took up residence when he was president of El Al and Boris Senior, the deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, were others who added a distinctive South African flavour to the village.

Roads were always had an important influence on Kfar Shmaryahu. There were none when the first settlers moved in. At the time, a dirt track was continued from Herzliya Bet, but to get to Tel Aviv, 15 kilometres away as the bird flies, was an hour and a half's journey by bus through Ra'anana and Petah Tikva. Shoshana Ronen, who owns a Tel Aviv advertising agency, recalled,

After World War II the way to Tel Aviv was shortened going through Ramat Hasharon and Ramat Gan. The opening of the Haifa-Tel Aviv coastal road "brought us Tel Aviv," says Maor. This was not welcomed by all in Kfar Shmaryahu but there was no stopping the march of progress. And it did bring concerts, theatre and the commerce of the metropolis within easy reach.

THE EASY access and proximity of Kfar Shmaryahu to Tel Aviv has attracted diplomats, who are ready to pay high rents, and discriminating Israelis who can afford the high priced real estate of the Kfar.

Consequently, Kfar Shmaryahu is again becoming a younger commu-

nity, according to Harriet and Sam Levin, of the South African wave of "Shmaryahans." "We now feel the influx of younger professionals with their children. It has also revived demand for culture in the village, with lectures, lessons, performances and functions again well-attended at Beit Levin," the Levins said.

The synagogue too has been an attraction, partly because of its pleasant location but more so because of Shmuel Avidor Hacohen, "the TV rabbi," who held court there for 19 years. Often, a bar mitzvah would inspire three speeches from the pulpit from the rotund, ebullient rabbi in honour of the visiting family.

Rabbi Hacohen, who was born in Jerusalem and himself is strictly Orthodox, gave the clear impression that he would prefer Jews to come to the synagogue by car rather than not come at all. He never lived in Kfar Shmaryahu and for years could be seen making the long trek by foot from a hotel in Herzliya Pituah to his synagogue and back on Sabbath mornings. The synagogue was built with the help of Sir Isaac Wolfson, though the bulk of the funds came from local residents.

Another Kfar Shmaryahu landmark is its Walworth Barbour American International School, better known as "the American School." It was established in 1958 by the U.S. State Department and Embassy here and grew rapidly from its initial enrolment of 22 elementary students in a one-room school to its present 450 students from 45 countries. Among these are the children of diplomats, UN personnel, foreign experts, some of whom come daily from as far away as Nahariya and Jerusalem. About 10 per cent of the

students are children of returning Israelis and new immigrants, who get financial assistance from the Ministry of Education and the UJA.

The school covers an area of 34 dunams and includes extensive playing fields, an art centre, library, laboratories, music rooms, computer rooms and a gymnasium, and offers exceptionally varied extra-curricular activities. It is part of a worldwide network of American International Schools, numbering about 700.

THE SHOPPING centre is elegant, neat and compact and is situated at the edge of the village. It even attracted a Lubavitcher bookshop, but that was short-lived after local council chairman Shraga Milstein suggested to them that it was "a bit far-fetched" to have such premises next to Hecht, the country's foremost non-kosher butcher, and the Sze Chuan Chinese restaurant.

Perhaps the most telling witness to the special serene life-style of Kfar Shmaryahu comes from an unexpected quarter - the Admor of Sanz. Last month, the 85-year-old Admor and his family moved into the Kfar having rented (for \$5,000 plus a month) a splendidly modern residence - swimming pool and tennis court included. The black-robed Admor reportedly wanted to buy a residence that met his requirements but none was available for sale.

Of the original settlers of 50 years ago, 37 are still alive. During this year's jubilee celebrations they will all be the guests of Shulamit Aloni, Kfar Shmaryahu's best known MK, on a visit to the Knesset which could take Kfar Shmaryahu as a model for hard work, harmony, tolerance and a cultured way of going about things.

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READERS' LETTERS

DREAMERS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: In your magazine of January 30, Pearl Sheffy Gefen writes on the forthcoming film with the working title *Dreamers*, which is directed by Uri Barash and produced by Beljo Film Productions, of the Dutch Jews Ben Elkerbout and Ludy Boeken.

Ben Elkerbout, in an interview with the Israeli correspondent of the Dutch daily *NRC-Handelsblad* of January 26, stresses that the film's main theme is the Jewish conflict. He is quoted as saying, inter alia: "*Dreamers* proves, at least on the screen, that coexistence of Jews and Arabs is possible. In this respect it is an optimistic film, with a universal meaning."

It should be pointed out that many recent Israeli films in which much understanding and sympathy are shown for Palestinians are not at all favourably received by Palestinian or pro-Palestinian circles here. This was the case with regard to Uri Barash's earlier film, *Beyond the Walls*, which was unfavourably reviewed in the monthly of the Netherlands Palestine Committee.

The January 1987 issue of this monthly, now named *Soemod*, the Arab word for steadfastness, reviews unfavourably three Israeli films on Israeli-Palestinian relations recently shown on Dutch television by the progressive VPRO Broadcasting Company, viz. *The Smile of the Lamb*, by Shimon Dotan, *A Very*

Narrow Bridge, by Nissim Dayan, and *Hansin*, by Daniel Waxman. Under the title "Self-Pity," Soemod writes, inter alia:

"In particular in the first two films, reality seems to get out of sight the moment the film-makers pass the border with Palestine. Films are by definition unreal... But it is problematic when they suggest that humanity and compassion are normal qualities of an occupying power. The films are not anti-Palestinian or anti-Arab, nor are all Palestinians or these films terrorists. But this does not imply that they are portrayed as human beings. With the exception of *Hansin*, they do not really escape their traditional role as either passive victims and helpless onlookers or violent desperados... But my somewhat bitter aftertaste has a different cause. Though the film-makers do not entirely cover up the suffering and oppression of the Palestinian people, yet the viewer is asked to identify not so much with the Palestinians, but rather with the self-pity of the peace-loving Israelis. And this is asking too much of me."

Are Ben Elkerbout and Ludy Boeken, and Uri and Benny Barash, not actually themselves dreamers, if they believe that their film can contribute to Jewish-Arab coexistence?

HENRIETTE BOAS
Amsterdam.

EXPORTING CULTURE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: In his February 6 article, "Sobol: Making a scene," Henryk Broder criticizes playwright Yehoshua Sobol for indiscriminately allowing the performance of *The Palestinian* and *Ghetto* on the German stage.

Broder contends that Sobol's messages are liable to be conveniently misconstrued by the Germans, enabling contemporary German audiences to draw distorted analogies between their own past and our present-day afflictions. While halfheartedly admitting that the playwright cannot be held responsible for the meanings which critics or others assign to his works, Broder implies that Sobol is expeditiously overlooking the service that his works render to the contemporary German psyche.

It is probably true that some people in Germany (and everywhere else for that matter) are liable to read into a work meanings which utterly misrepresent its message. Those who are determined to find

implications that are anti-Semitic or anti-Israel will always come up with something anyhow. But as for the others, there is a great deal to be said for exposing them to the genuine, agonizing attempt of so many in Israel today to come to grips with the less savoury aspects of our past — and of our present.

Broder seems to be advocating selective export policies for Israeli culture. But is this what we want? At a time when Israel finds itself subjected to increasingly abusive criticism on so many fronts, the numerous successful performances of Sobol's plays abroad go a long way towards demonstrating how pluralistic and intense our current cultural scene really is.

Whether or not one agrees with the message (not a simplistic one in any case) of *The Palestinian* or of *Ghetto*, foreign audiences in general and the Germans in particular are as entitled as anyone else to give these plays due consideration.

MIRIAM SHLESINGER
Tel Aviv.

SAD STATE OF RAILWAYS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Having reached pension age, I was handed a list of articles and services which are available at a reduction, and this included Israel Railways.

I tried it. The ride itself was smooth and the company pleasant. But the beauty of our country was not visible, as the windows were extremely dirty. There was no water in the toilets, not even to wash one's hands.

On the way back from Tel Aviv to Haifa in the last train of the day (8 p.m.), there was no electricity, and not a word of explanation or — God forbid — apology.

On the whole, the railway is probably as fast as an Egged bus and more comfortable to move around in, but it would help enormously if the railroad authorities would care for cleanliness and their passengers.

HANNAH BRAMON
Haifa.

MOSHAV SYSTEM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Congratulations to you on Lila Julius's article of January 27, "Moshav monster." It has pinpointed the problems we have on our own moshav.

What is not mentioned is that misguided committees (which year after year burden the members with deficits that are impossible to pay except by taking further loans) put tremendous pressure on members who want to stop all this and take responsibility for their own decisions and lives.

It would make a very interesting sociological study to see why people hold on to a system that has constantly failed them; and why the leadership on a moshav will harass and threaten members who deviate from the system in the slightest way.

There is something immoral about holding back people's wish to work and live in a free atmosphere.

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Tora Portion: Bechukha

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NATIONAL LEAGUE PREVIEW

Can Haifa beat the book?

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. — Bloomfield is once again the setting for the match of the day tomorrow when perennial arch rivals and championship contestants of recent seasons, Betar Jerusalem and Maccabi Haifa clash at 3 p.m. Shimonshon paly Bnei Yehuda at 1 p.m.

According to the book, Betar should walk this match. They have scored 37 goals this season to Haifa's grand total of 14.

But one has a strong gut feeling that things may not turn out that easy for the league leaders, who are already 11 points clear of the Haifa-ites. Zahi Armeli and Moshe Selektor have been nowhere near their best this season, but one can still reminisce about the days when they and Baruch Maman could produce splendid goals. Now Haifa also have the highly talented Daniel Brailovsky in close support of their attack. It needs only a sudden return to top form by the attack from the North to let Betar know they have been in a game.

CUP SOCCER

Liverpool on course for Wembley

LONDON (Reuters). — Liverpool, reduced to 10 men when striker Paul Walsh was sent off in the second half, salvaged a goalless draw in the English League Cup semifinal first leg at Southampton on Wednesday night.

Walsh was ordered off after flooring Southampton defender Kevin Bond with a right hook in an off-the-ball incident only a minute after halftime. Bond was himself booked soon after for a foul on striker Ian Rush, while Liverpool's Denmark midfielder Jan Molby received a booking for a late tackle on defender Mark Dennis.

Walsh might well live to rue his moment of madness as it could spell the beginning of the end of his Liverpool career.

Liverpool take a dim view of such unprofessional acts and Walsh could well be dropped for tomorrow's league game against Leicester.

"The referee was 100% right and Walsh knows it," said player-manager Kenny Dalglish, the man responsible for reorganizing the forward line when Ian Rush heads for Juventus at the end of the season.

The best chance came in the first half, with Southampton's England goalkeeper Peter Shilton making a diving save to stop a powerful drive by Molby, while Liverpool keeper Bruce Grobbelaar fumbled a shot by Dennis but recovered to save.

Southampton, despite their extra man, could not take advantage and face an uphill task in the second leg at Anfield on February 25.

Spurs are a goal ahead of Arsenal in their parallel bid to book a place at Wembley in the final.

In Madrid, modest Osasun bunched



THE BLOOMFIELD KEY? — Zahi Armeli (Guthmann)

died league leaders Barcelona out of the Spanish Cup on penalties. Real Madrid, however, cruised through to the quarter-finals with a 6-1 drubbing of Cadiz.

Cup holders Real Zaragoza were also ousted, beaten 2-0 at Real Mallorca after extra time to lose 2-1 on aggregate.

Reserve goalkeeper Juan Urazco, 19, was Osasuna's hero, saving Barcelona's third penalty taken by Marcos Alonso. With the home side's five marksmen all on target from the spot, that saved the tie.

Trailing 1-0 from the first leg at the Nou Camp, Barcelona had to wait 50 minutes until England's Gary Lineker scored to force extra time, which was goalless.

Then Urazco, who made his first-team debut as a substitute only on Sunday and saved a penalty, upstaged Barcelona's Spanish international keeper Andoni Zubizarreta to give Osasuna their memorable win.

Cracks surface in Gush Emunim

Released Jewish terrorists have returned to public life, rekindling memories of events that shocked the nation, Gershon Gorenberg reports.

FIVE MONTHS after Gush Emunim activists began camping out on the sidewalks in front of the homes of Prime Minister Shamir and Vice Premier Peres, they yesterday folded their tents.

The demonstrators had been demanding presidential pardons for imprisoned members of the Jewish terror underground.

Hebron Rabbi Moshe Levinger, a central figure in the Gush, denies that the Gush had run out of supporters willing to man the sit-ins. He said MKs and rabbis had pressed the Gush to end the protests so they could use quiet diplomacy to push for pardons.

The Jerusalem sit-ins, and a march through the capital in October by over 2,000 Gush supporters calling for pardons, have provoked sharp debate in the Gush. They have also provided rare public reminders of a case that shocked the country in the spring of 1984. At that time, the security forces uncovered the group, mainly of West Bank settlers, that had maimed Arab mayors, murdered students at Hebron's Islamic College, planted bombs on East Jerusalem buses and plotted to blow up Moslem shrines on the Temple Mount.

The demonstrations, though, have distracted attention from the fact that 20 of the 28 convicted members of the underground are out of jail, less than three years after most of them were arrested. At least seven had their sentences commuted by President Herzog, who after the arrests denounced the underground as "unbalanced men" who carried out "treasonous acts."

Some of the freed Jewish terrorists have already assumed important positions in West Bank settlements.

Hagai Segal, who planted the bombs that crippled an Arab mayor and a Druse sapper, has returned to his job as No. 2 man at the settlers' monthly magazine *Nekuda*. Segal was sentenced to three years in prison; he was released after two. Nathan Nathanson, also involved in the attacks on the mayors, is now a member of the Gush Emunim secretariat.

Avinoam Katrieli, the first underground member to be freed, now runs the Tel Aviv office of Gush Emunim's Amman settlement organization. Katrieli pleaded guilty, after plea-bargaining, to conspiracy and weapons possession in the Temple Mount plot. He served 10 months of a 15-month sentence.

If the underground members still in prison also get the standard one-third reduction of their sentences, all

but three will be free by the beginning of 1989. Only those convicted of murder, which carries a mandatory life sentence, will remain in prison.

Among those likely to be released is Yehuda Etzion, one of the founders of the underground and the ideological of the Temple Mount plot. Etzion regularly sends articles and letters from his Tel Mond Prison cell to *Nekuda*, which indicate he has made little, if any, change in his views since his arrest.

EVEN MORE than Segal and Katrieli, former underground member Ze'ev Hever has returned to the front line of West Bank settlement activity.

Hever, convicted of an attempted attack on Palestinian leader Dr. Ahmed Natse, was released in the spring of 1985. Six months later he became the executive director of the Jewish Community of Hebron, the organization that has moved 280 settlers into the West Bank's second largest Arab city.

Tall, with a huge lock of sandy hair hanging over his forehead, Hever speaks in a simple vocabulary, devoid of the rabbinic allusions used by some Gush leaders. His views are clear-cut and extreme: his strongest belief appears to be that ideas have no value unless acted out completely, with no compromise. At 32, he has been in the Hebron area since he came to the Kiyat Arba hesder yeshiva 14 years ago.

Why Hebron? "It's simple. If not Hebron, and Jerusalem and Shechem [Nablus] — the places to which we have a historical tie from the First and Second Temple, more than to the coast — we have no reason to be in the Land of Israel."

"In Hebron a Jew first bought land... If we return to the Land, and we ourselves don't return here, the connection is broken, it just doesn't exist. Anything you don't act on and live, turns into something that doesn't exist."

The activist approach also comes out when he describes his organization's efforts to buy back Jewish property in Hebron, buy Arab apartments and move more settlers into the town: "Everything is done in an orderly way, through the Civil Administration. But our assumption is that if we don't get things started, there's not much chance... It's like anything in life. If someone doesn't start it, it won't happen."

THE BELIEF in getting things done apparently also led him and Uri Maier to drive to Bethlehem on the

night of June 1, 1980 with a bomb they intended to plant in Natse's car. The barking of a neighbour's dog scared the two men off. But the same night, other settlers put bombs in the cars of Ramallah mayor Karim Khalaf and Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka, and in al-Bira mayor Ibrahim Tawil's garage.

When the bomb in Shaka's car went off the next morning, it tore off the lower part of both his legs. Khalaf lost a foot; the Border Police sapper who went to Tawil's home to check for explosives was blinded when he inadvertently set off the bomb.

Natse, Khalaf, Shaka, and Tawil were members of the National Guidance Committee, then the leading radical Palestinian nationalists in the West Bank.

Like other underground members, Hever says he acted because the security authorities had not responded to Arab attacks on Jews. "I was convinced they'd arrest us all within a few days. But the security situation was so bad, I thought there was no choice and we had to do it."

In fact, the case was broken only four years later. Hever was arrested on April 30, 1984, three days after the security forces thwarted the attempted bombing of East Jerusalem buses by other members of the underground. The original charges against him included attempting to murder Natse and gathering intelligence for the Temple Mount plot.

A year later, his lawyer struck a deal with the prosecution. Hever pleaded guilty to membership in a terror organization and attempting to cause grievous bodily harm. Other charges were dropped. He was sentenced to nine months in jail. But he had actually been released several weeks earlier, to be treated for what he calls "a very serious illness" and what some newspapers reported to be a brain tumour.

Today, he says, "I'm fine. After one operation the whole thing was over."

As for his involvement in the underground, "I'm not ashamed. I have to say... It wasn't done out of childish whim or lack of thought or personal benefit, but serious concern for human life."

But looking back, he says, he sees the car-bombings "in a different light... The people involved saw it as a one-time action, but it's true that for some of them it became a method. More actions were taken, and there was an escalation in the targets."

"In short, you can say for yourself, 'I know where to draw the line,' when it's OK and when it's not. That's very nice, but in reality it doesn't work. In civilized society, security, protecting or taking people's lives, is in the government's hands. Otherwise, everything is wide open."

"In a general way, I think the Ben-Shimon attack [in 1984, in which a soldier fired a missile at an Arab bus and killed a passenger] resulted from the arrest of the underground and his wanting to imitate us. The same is true for those three who killed an Arab taxi driver [in April 1985]."

Hever insists that he now is "against such things; it's forbidden to do them." But if Jews continue to attack Arabs, he clearly believes, it

is because there is "no deterrence" of Arab terror.

"The terrorist caught in the latest murders says explicitly: 'We're waiting for the next prisoner exchange,' he says. That's why General Security Service men 'irresponsibly' killed captured terrorists, he argues, and why Jews assaulted Arabs after stabbings in Jerusalem."

LAST SUMMER, a veteran Gush Emunim activist published a story entitled "As a Widow" in *Nekuda*. In it, the wife of an imprisoned underground man is transformed into a black-robed, wild-haired widow — the personified figure of "Mother Zion" from a *midrash* (biblical commentary) on the destruction of Jerusalem. "Who will comfort me for what you have destroyed?" she demands of the jailed Jewish terrorist.

Letters to the magazine attacked the story's author, Rabbi Menahem Fruman, for "defaming" the members of the underground.

Fruman did not let the storm die down. In November, he publicly announced that he was quitting the Gush in protest against its campaign to pardon the underground. Fruman wrote in *Nekuda* that the Jewish terrorists had "worked in the direction of destroying the entire state." And demonstrations supporting them were "worse than the underground itself," he said, because they made Jewish terror seem acceptable.

The settlers' magazine has been flooded with articles by Gush leaders responding to Fruman, most criticizing his position.

Yisrael Harel, editor of *Nekuda* and chairman of the Council of Jewish Settlements, in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District, says Fruman "has support, but not massive," amongst settlers for his stand on pardons.

But Harel says that Yoel Bin-Nun and Hanan Porat, both central figures in the Gush, agree with Fruman, and "Porat said that if he had the strength he would have organized a counter-demonstration to the demonstration for pardons" in October.

Many more settlers agree with Fruman that the Gush has spent too much effort on the pardon campaign and too little on wider issues, Harel says.

"I know there are central members of the settlement movement who won't publish in *Nekuda* because Yisrael Harel lets Yehuda Etzion write there," he said.

Fruman rejects the argument of some underground members that they made a "political error" by "waging war" on their own, rather than letting the state do it. "It's not that if the state does violence it will be OK. There has to be a moral foundation to our dwelling in the Land."

The Gush's mistake, he says, has been to blur its stand against Jewish terror by stressing personal loyalty to those in prison, by saying "We can't be silent while our guys are in jail."

As for the return of Hever, Segal and Katrieli to positions in settlement organizations, Fruman said he was certain "that the intent of bringing them back is not legitimization" of the underground.

TENNIS

Mansdorf's conquests continue

Post Sports Staff
Unseeded Amos Mansdorf's second round 6-4, 6-4 win over American Tim Wilkison at the U.S. Indoor Tennis Championships in Memphis must be considered as one of the best performances in the career of Israel's top tennis player.

Wilkison's current computer ranking of 28 is close to his best ever but Mansdorf proved that the difference between the two — Mansdorf is 34 in the world — means very little when the top rankings players confront each other. And his straight set win proved the point very nicely.

Mansdorf now faces an even tougher hurdle when in the third round he meets the stocky Swede Mikael Pernfors, the tournament's third seed.

Jack Leon adds from Tel Aviv:

Wilkison, 27, turned professional a decade ago after leaving school, he is known as both "Dr. Dri" and "Rumbo" on the tennis circuit. The left-hander earned the former sobriquet because of his penchant for throwing himself onto the court and chasing every ball in a Becker, keeping and diving to win points with the most miraculous retrieving shots.

The veteran American, who has so far won six Grand Prix singles titles, is also noted for the peaked ATP cup he always wears during matches. One of the most consistent players in the program, Wilkison has been in the top 10 of the world singles rankings for the past three years.

Pernfors rocketed to fame overnight last June after finishing a singles runner-up to Lendl at

the French Open. In an astonishing series of upsets, the unseeded Pernfors consecutively beat Edberg, Seguso, Jaffe, Becker and Lendz with four of his scalp among the top 11 seeds. Like Wilkison, Pernfors is noted for his tenacity and for not giving up on any ball even if he has only half a chance to reach it.

The new Swedish Davis Cup racket won the ATP's valued "most improved player of the year" award for 1986, when he climbed from 164th to 12th in the world rankings — he is at present 13th in the standings.

Connors, seeded second, overwhelmed Andrei Chesnokov of the Soviet Union 6-1 6-3 with a solid serve-and-volley game and McEnroe, seeded fifth, controlled fellow American Paul Amacone in similar fashion, winning 6-3 6-4 and avenging a first round loss at the U.S. Open.

Connors, playing in only his second tournament since early November, broke Chesnokov five times but said the match was more difficult than it looked. "Nothing comes easy for me anymore. I just ran down more balls than he did," Connors said.

Connors now plays Eliot Teltscher, a 6-2 7-5 winner over 15th seed Milan Srejber of Czechoslovakia.

McEnroe meets 11th-seeded Johan Kriek in the third round. The South African-born Kriek and little



NEXT IN LINE? — Mikael Pernfors

trouble in disposing of fellow-American Terry Moor 6-2 6-3.

In other second round matches, Joost Swenson beat Danie Visser, 7-6 (7-5), 6-4; Eliot Teltscher beat Milan Srejber 6-2, 7-5; Sergio Casal beat Emilio Sanchez 6-4, 6-3; Johan Kriek beat Terry Moor 6-2, 6-3; Mikael Pernfors beat Thomas Hogstedt 6-3, 6-2; Tim Mayotte beat Harry Davis 4-6, 6-3, 6-4; and Ramon Krishnan beat Ben Testerman 3-6, 6-2, 7-5.

ICE HOCKEY

NHL stars nip Soviets 4-3

QUEBEC (AFP). — The National Hockey League beat the Soviet Union ice hockey team 4-3 in the first of their "Rendezvous '87" matches here on Wednesday.

A goal from the NHL's Dave Poulin in the final period clinched a narrow victory in a hard-fought and exciting encounter.

The NHL were well on top in the first period and a goal from Finnish star Jari Kurri made their advantage tell.

The Soviets came back strongly in the second period, and although a goal from Anderson had put the NHL 2-0 up, Kasatanov quickly pulled one back.

In the final period, the Soviets were level after just two minutes, when Bykov found the net, and when Danden restored the NHL advantage five minutes later. It took just a minute for Semenov to square the game again.

But for all their domination in the final period, the Soviets were caught out and Poulin hit the winner, turning in a shot from Mario Lemieux.

The two teams met again tonight in Quebec for the second match in the series.

India also kept Israel away from the ninth Asian Games in New Delhi in 1982.

Lonnqvist added that the Swedish Federation had sent a telegram to the International Table Tennis Federation calling for suitable action.

The ITTF wants India to change its mind over the issue. "We are going to do all we can to try to obtain visas for the Israeli players," Tony Brooks, the federation's secretary, said in London on Tuesday.

Top hurdler Nehemiah undergoes heel surgery

LOS ANGELES (Reuters). — American Renato Nehemiah, who holds the world record for the 110-metre hurdles, has had a bone spur on his left heel successfully removed in an arthroscopic operation.

NBA

Visitors victorious

NEW YORK (AP). — What's happened to the home court advantage in the NBA?

There were five games on Wednesday night and the home teams, which had won only 176 of 538 games, lost each one. Among the winners were Atlanta and Detroit, who remained one-half game apart in the torrid Central Division race, thanks to outstanding performances by Dominique Wilkins of the Hawks and Bill Laimbeer of the Pistons.

Wilkins scored 35 points and grabbed 13 rebounds in Atlanta's 109-82 rout of the hapless Los Angeles Clippers. Meanwhile, Laimbeer scored nine of his 30 points in overtime as Detroit beat Philadelphia 123-113.

The top performance, however, was turned in by Indiana rookie Chuck Person, who scored a career-high 42 points, including six 3-point goals in as many attempts, as the Pacers beat the Phoenix Suns 121-105.

Elsewhere, Milwaukee trounced New York 127-104 and Washington whipped San Antonio 133-108.

TABLE TENNIS

Swedish Minister boycotts championships

STOCKHOLM (AFP). — Swedish sports minister Ulf Lonnqvist is to boycott the World Table Tennis Championships, which open in New Delhi next Wednesday as a protest over India's refusal to grant visas to Israel.

Lonnqvist, who is also president of his country's table tennis federation,

SPORTS

SNOOKER. — Tony Meo retained the English Snooker Championship, the only major title he has ever won, when he beat underdog Les Dodd 9-5 in the final in Liverpool on Wednesday night.

HORSE RACING. — Jockeys will be liable to drug tests under new rules to take effect later this year, British racing's governing body, the Jockey Club, said this week.

Racecourse stewards will have the power to order samples from jockeys to trace drugs such

SHORTS

as heroin, cocaine and cannabis. The tests will not search for normal therapeutic drugs such as caffeine or anti-histamines.

CRICKET. — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sent a telegram to the England cricket team on Wednesday congratulating the players on their triple success in Australia.

Mike Gatting's team successfully defended the Ashes test series against the home country, and also won two one-day competitions on its gruelling 4½-month tour.

Hands up!

Tora Today/Pinhas H. Peli

The Tora portion for this week is Beshalah (Exodus 13:17-17:16).

WHEN THE EXODUS comes, our attention is called not only to its content, but also its form. "How" the event occurred and "how" it was reported is of no less importance than the event itself.

As a result of the death of the Egyptian firstborn, Pharaoh and his courtiers rush to meet Moses and Aaron in the middle of the night. They plead with the Israelites: "Rise up, and get you out from my people... Also take your flocks and your herds as you have said, and be gone!" (Exodus 12:31-32).

"And the children of Israel," we are told, "journeyed from Ramses to Succor, about six hundred thousand men on foot, besides children." (ibid., 37). The great moment of Exodus has finally arrived, after so many trials and tribulations and after so much anticipation.

And then suddenly comes the order of the heavenly director: "Cut! Stop the forward march! God ordered the Israelites to return to Succor and before Pharaoh (14:21). As if he were saying that all that had happened till now was not yet the "real thing," but only a rehearsal. The enactment of the Exodus must now start all over again.

Pharaoh is made to think that the Israelites are confused and entangled in the wilderness, and cannot really make it. He changes his tune. After pleading with the Israelites to get out, he now mobilizes all his chariots and captains to chase after them. It is only then, after we have reached this crucial moment of confrontation, that we are told that the Exodus indeed took place: "And the

children of Israel went out with a high hand" (14:8).

They went out of bondage and left Egypt, not because they were driven out, nor did they leave as poor refugees escaping under the cover of darkness or under false pretences. The true Exodus actually came when the Israelites were ready to go out of Egypt with a "high hand," *b'yad rama*.

What his meant by this "high hand"?

Some translations render *b'yad rama* with one word: "boldly." Gunther Plaut in his *Modern Commentary*, sees in the "upraised hand" an idiom reflecting defiance. "In modern days, also, an upraised clenched fist has taken on this significance."

The ancient rabbis in the tannaitic midrash *Mechilta*, as well as the Onkelos targum, render *b'yad rama* as *b'reish galci*, "with uncovered heads," which was explained literally by Shadal (Samuel David Luzzatto, 1800-1855) that to the rabbis an uncovered head indicated lack of fear whereas covering the head was seen as a sign of subjugation. Other rabbis in *Mechilta* understood *b'yad rama* to mean that the Israelites left Egypt while singing songs of praise to the Lord (ed. Lauterbach, vol. I, p. 203).

Of all the translations and commentaries, Rashi (R' Shlomo Itzhaki, 1040-1105), the doyen of all Tora commentators, seems to have caught best the spirit of those two words *b'yad rama*, — *b'gevura gevula u'furset* — in high-spirited and gallant bravery. At this point the children of Israel were not fleeing as slaves, but as courageous people, holding their heads up high.

They understood that the Exodus of Israel from Egypt was not only

their own "private affair," but was an event that would have worldwide repercussions. This was no time for modesty and humility, their act of liberation had to be approached *b'yad rama* and attract worldwide publicity, sending waves of freedom throughout the world.

Israel was called *am olam*, which means both an eternal people and also a people at the centre of the world. As it goes with Israel, so goes it with the world. This was one of the finest hours for Israel and it occurred, as Rav Kook pointed out, while spring and rebirth reigned in the world in general.

AGAINST THIS splendid background of Israel's "high hand," we realize the grossness of the violent act of Amalek who, with no obvious reason, comes to fight Israel at Rephidim. We understand the tensions that existed between Egypt and Israel, or for that matter between Israel and the peoples of Canaan.

Amalek served to remind Israel that the lofty spirit of the "high hand" must be sustained all year round and not only on rare festive or

historic occasions. Abandoning self-confidence and losing sight of the vision which accompanied the people as they came out from slavery into freedom, invited trouble. Amalek came to attack Israel at Rephidim. R' Hanania (Mechilta, 2:138) quotes the rabbis as saying Reaphidim means "feebleness of hands." This rabbinic play on the name Reaphidim, *she-rafu yedeihem*, suggests that it was only after Israel lost their "high hands" and confident spirit that Amalek dared attack them.

It is most likely no accident that the battle with Amalek is marked by the position of the hands of Moses. "And it came to pass that when Moses held his hands up, that Israel prevailed and when he let them down Amalek prevailed" (Exodus 17:11).

The ongoing battle between Israel and the various Amaleks which it encounters on its way, can be won only as long as Israel and its leaders know how to keep their hands high and their heads up.

Rabbi Peli is professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.



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THE STATUS of religion vis-a-vis the state has always been a gnawing problem. The establishment of the State of Israel, based upon the promises of the Return of Zion, justifies the integration of biblical values into a national democratic government.

Because the State of Israel was established amidst both intense international political struggles and bloody battles with Israel's enemies, there was insufficient time to plan the democratic constitution and spiritual values of the state.

From the outset, the great architect of the State of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, envisioned the danger to the nation's unity that was embedded in the conflict over religion, and attempted to find a compromise between the secular and religious camps.

THE STATUS quo that Ben-Gurion established was a compromise between the extreme demands of both sides. Reality has proven that in this manner, national unity could be preserved. Indeed, for 37 years, a rupture between the two communities has been avoided. As long as hostile elements and denominations did not interfere, coalition governments with religious parties existed and a partnership between the various groups was developed.

Only when the anti-Zionist Reform and Conservative movements began to mix into religious affairs, to incite against the state's religious laws and to stir up political squabbling among the parties due to their positive attitude toward religion, did the troubles and confusion begin.

The Reform and Conservative movements, which have caused widespread dissension in the Diaspora and yet have never had nor at the present have any roots in the Land of Israel, are inflaming passions on a subject that has absolutely no meaning in the State of Israel.

What is our bond to Reform converts in Denver, Colorado? Whether Reform members are converted or not they still do not come on aliya.

THEY ARE attempting to compel us to accept their American religious divisions. The Reform movement has yet to establish even one community worthy of our attention. Even secular Israelis are unwilling to grant recognition to rabbis who marry Christians and Jews in churches.

The confusion was caused by a small number of converts sent here to instigate trouble and to destroy the delicate fabric of intercommunal harmony that has hitherto existed. Why must we rack our brains and disrupt the conduct of the state just because some Texas rabbi without knowledge of the Torah and Jewish observance desires to convert some Gentile?

Let the Reform rabbis live where they want to, marry whom they want, and leave us in peace! Reform conversion is not an Israeli problem; it is a product of America. Moreover, even the majority of American

Orthodox conversions are not conducted for purely religious reasons, nor in the public interest, and it would have been preferable if they had not been carried out. How much more so for Reform and Conservative converts whose motives for conversion are not for the love of Torah and Judaism!

Were we talking about thousands of Reform converts with suitcases packed and preparing to make aliya in droves, with the only obstacle in the way of their aliya being our refusal to recognize their Jewishness, I could comprehend the tumult. But we are arguing over an egg that is yet unhatched and will never hatch! At most, we are dealing with a family or two that are pressed to come to Israel in order to incite strife and sow dissension among the people. In the end they return to their "chosen land" — the United States.

Will it be for their sake that we destroy all that we have built and breach the wall of national unity? Where are the hundreds of Reform temples in the land? Why don't they build them with all their millions of dollars?

WHEN WE come to determine the relationship between state and religion, we can bring two living examples that represent two opposing views — the U.S. and the State of Israel. The American constitution is rooted upon the principle, sacred to Americans, of the complete separation of church and state.

On the other hand, the State of Israel is based upon the principle of integration of state and religion. This combination is reflected by a complete system of laws such as the laws of marriage and divorce; the national religious educational system; numerous municipal and national by-laws that safeguard religious and traditional values such as Sabbath and festival observance by curbing public transportation, commerce, industry, and the civil service; kashrut in the IDF and public services; the pathology law; and the chief rabbinic law. All these comprise an integral part of the statutes of the country. Although there is no formal constitution, the Halacha has played a significant role in Israeli law.

Hence, we should contrast these two examples — American separation of church and state with Israeli synthesis of them and democracy. What is their nature? From both the outlook of the state and the Halacha's viewpoint, which is preferable? Finally, which one is capable of preserving the unity of the Jewish people?

The U.S., whose constitution obligates the most scrupulous separation of church and state, is the only country in the world that has the following characteristics:

- Its money is inscribed with the very religious declaration, "In God We Trust."
- It is the only democratic nation in the world whose Congress-

Halacha and the secular state

Israel needs its religion

Shlomo Goren

sional sessions are opened with a formal prayer conducted by a clergyman. (I was honoured to compose and arrange a ceremonial prayer for the opening session of Congress and the prayer in its entirety was published in the official Congressional record.)

• America is the only country whose official ceremony of swearing in the new president includes representatives of the three major religions, each one reciting an invocation for divine guidance, thereby lending a religious character to the ceremony. Similarly, the oath that the new president takes at the direction of the chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court includes a prayer to God for the success of the president and the nation.

• American clergymen and religious personalities have accumulated more influence in the institutions of the federal government and in the shaping of foreign and domestic policy than anywhere else in the world.

• In the army, navy and air force there are representatives of the major religions in every formation and the provision of religious services is mandatory in all units. There is no army base without a chapel available for use by the three primary denominations and the influence of the clergy is felt in all walks of life.

With such a strong clerical influence in the American system of government, the question to be asked is: Is this a secular nation with a constitutional separation of church and state?

IN MY OPINION, the antithesis of the U.S. in this regard is the State of Israel. In light of the national scheme of religious statutes and the dual judicial hierarchy, i.e., secular and religious courts, the state appears to be theocratic-democratic. Without doubt, the state is democratic, with a democratic electoral system, mode of government and legislative procedure, permissiveness, and freedom of speech and press.

Be that as it may, the Israeli religious courts strike one as containing elements of theocracy for they decide all matters of personal status and other aspects of life in accordance with the Halacha.

So far, the discussion has been theoretical. In day-to-day reality, when contrasted to America, there is little religious content in Israeli

national life. In Israeli governmental circles, there is no relationship at all to the sacred books of the Jews nor is there any respect for religion and tradition.

With the exception of the Knesset's kosher kitchen (which serves all MKs, secular and religious) there is no mention in its fundamental laws of Torah and Judaism. In the declaration-signing ceremony of a new Knesset or the opening of a regular or special session, there is no procedure nor custom to invoke God's name. In its statutes and proceedings there is no expression of our bond to Torah or the Bible.

When a new president of the state, a new cabinet, or a new Knesset member aver their loyalty, they do not take an oath upon the Bible or on a book sacred to the Jewish people. The declaration is totally secular — to uphold the laws of the Knesset and the state — without any reference to religion or faith. In total contrast to the traditional proceedings of the federal legislative bodies of the U.S. that honour and respect members of the clergy, in our country, all who attack the standard-bearers of Torah are considered acceptable and progressive.

IN LIGHT of all this, a cardinal question must be posed: Would it not be preferable to separate state and religion and to grant the Israeli citizen the possibility to live as he sees fit? This question must be also regarded from the Torah's point of view. Doesn't the Torah lose by enforcing the various religious laws? Since the compulsory nature of religious laws increases hatred against religion, perhaps the separation of religion and state would cool off the heated debate and intense struggle between the secular and religious communities, thereby allowing the Holy Torah to exist outside the political arena of the state.

The problem is twofold, halachic and ethical. At first one must clarify the Halacha's viewpoint on the subject. In an independent Jewish state in the Land of Israel, we are obliged to enforce the laws of the Torah upon the Jewish community? Or perhaps, even in the Land of Israel, one should allow free choice.

As Maimonides wrote: "And this matter is a great principle and the foundation of the Torah and its commandments as it is stated, 'See, I set before you this day life and prosper-

ity, death and adversity... Choose life so that you and your offspring shall live' (Deut. 30:15, 19)."

Maimonides further wrote in his *Hilchot Teshuva* (5, 1): "Everyone is endowed with a free will; if he desires to turn himself toward the good path and be a righteous person, the choice is his. And should he desire to turn onto an evil path and be wicked, the choice is his."

Perhaps we should similarly act so on a national scale and not employ the country's legal system to impose laws pertaining to religion, ethics, and faith. Perhaps God Himself doesn't want an enforced Yoke of Heaven upon His creatures?

Indeed, there were talmudic sages who were of the opinion that the Jews forcibly received the Torah at Sinai, as Rabbi Avidimi explained the verse (Ex. 29: 17): "And they took their places at the foot of the mountain" — This teaches us that God overturned the mountain upon them like an [inverted] vat and said to them: "If you accept the Torah it is well and if not, there you will be buried!"

However, the Sages of Israel viewed this doctrine as dangerous to the Torah's everlasting existence as Rabbi Asher bar Ya'acov immediately retorted (Shabbat 88a): "This provides a strong protest against the Torah" meaning that basing oneself upon Rabbi Avidimi's homily, a Jew can excuse himself from his obligations to observe the commandments, as Rashi explains: "For if God accuses them of non-observance of what they had accepted upon themselves, they have a ready-made excuse that it was forcibly imposed upon them."

It is difficult to assume that all of Israel's declarations before and after the giving of the Torah — "All the people answered as one, saying 'All that the Lord has spoken we will do'" (Ex. 24: 3) — were made under physical duress. And should this doctrine of the forcible giving of the Torah be correct, it would imply that there is no ethical flaw in enforcing the values of Torah, morality, and faith upon mankind. Yet this view diametrically opposes the above-mentioned ideas of Maimonides that free will is the basis of the observance of Torah and its precepts.

However, one should not conclude anything from natural free will of man vis-a-vis the obligation of a community to enforce laws of behaviour upon the population in order to preserve an orderly society. No one disagrees that even the most democratic of nations must have a penal system to deter criminal acts. Perhaps there should be a similar attitude toward the laws of the Torah, religion and ethics, i.e., the state may erect a penal system for those who transgress in order to preserve the spiritual and ethical standard of the people.

APPARENTLY, the doctrine of enforcing religious laws through a system of secular laws is considered theocracy.

Popular opinion holds that a theocracy is the rule of priests who deny individual freedom and compel the citizens to obey through punishment. Today's model is Khomeini's regime in Iran in which the Ayatollahs reign with unlimited authority and execute thousands of people. Theocracy imposes upon the people a religious way of life and denies the individual rights of the people.

The inventor of the word "theocracy" from a scientific and chronological point of view is the historian Josephus Flavius as is found in his book *Against Apion* (2, 16) where he presents the Jewish form of government as the best: "All men differ from one another in their customs and laws in all their details. Essentially, one may say: some people have entrusted supreme political power to monarchies, others to oligarchies, and others to the people (democracy). However, our lawgiver paid no attention to any of these methods of rule but gave us a 'theocracy' — government of God."

When we attempt to understand Josephus's Jewish theocracy, there is no doubt that it is not identical with the standard, historical theocracy that has existed in various countries, some to this very day. It is not based upon the reign of priests but upon the rule of God.

However, it is difficult to comprehend from Josephus's essay how God's reign will be realized and how He will actually rule on earth. It is difficult to imagine a state without kings or executives standing at the helm and leading their nations. Perhaps Josephus's theocracy is referring to the Messianic Age. According to Rabbi Hillel's opinion (Sanhedrin 29a) "the only Messiah for Israel is God himself who will reign as it is stated: 'None but the Lord shall be exalted in that day' (Is. 2:7)."

Without any reference to the theocracy of Josephus or to the type of government in the state, from the viewpoint of Torah and Halacha, it is evident that any monarchy, government, or administration is obligated to ensure that the people obey the laws of the Torah and the commandments. This is implied by the history of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah that did evil in the eyes of God by not restraining the prophets of Baal from corrupting the people.

According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Sota), the verse "Cursed be he who will not uphold the words of the Torah and observe them" (Deut. 28:26) refers to the king who is responsible for the rule of Torah in Israel. Maimonides in *Hilchot Melachim* formulated the role of the king: "His goal and thoughts will be to set up and exalt the true religion." According to the Babylonian Talmud (Shabbat 54b) the king is punished for the transgressions of his domain, for he has the power to object to his subjects' behaviour, to educate them, and to guide them in accordance with the teachings of the Torah.

However, this responsibility incumbent upon the king and the government is conditional upon their ability to succeed. Should it be known from the outset that the government will not succeed in upholding the wishes of God, it is best to separate religion from the state in order to remove the government's responsibility for the observance of Torah among the people.

In such a situation, those Jews who in their hearts fear God and are faithful to the Torah and its precepts are forbidden to participate in the collective responsibility of the cabinet in order not to be charged with the iniquity of the generation. Moreover, they should not be partners in the desecration of God's name through the existence of a secular Jewish state in the Holy Land without Torah and the commandments. This is the view of the Halacha.

PERHAPS, in actuality the separation of religion and state would improve the present situation of growing confrontation and violence between the religious and secular communities, where each side is urged on by fringe elements who thrive upon hatred of their fellow Jews and hatred of the Torah. Such a situation, if left to fester, is liable to lead to civil war — and who can imagine the final results?

Ben-Gurion foresaw the danger facing the nation's unity and the existence of the state, and hence tried to establish precedents by creating a bridge of compromise and concession between both camps. To our sorrow, this common basis is being constantly eroded, and the accomplishments in the sphere of religious practice have come to naught. We are witnessing the slow destruction of Sabbath observance within the country and a severe blow to the sanctity of the nation through the registration of gentiles as Jews. The laws of marriage and divorce have also been breached with fictitious marriages by legal contracts.

Due to the polarity and violent confrontations that have developed between the two sides, it appears that there is no escaping the separation of state and religion. As the Prophet Ahijah the Shilonite tore asunder the Kingdom of David (I Kings 11: 33): "For they have forsaken me... they have not walked in My ways, nor done what is pleasing to Me or [kept] My laws and rules as David [did]."

Unfortunately, this separation in the long run caused the loss of the 10 tribes of Israel. The separation of religion from the state means in effect the separation of the soul from the body of the nation of Israel, as in the words of the philosophical genius, Rabbi Sa'adya Gaon: "Our nation is not a nation except through its Torah. Once the Creator said that the nation will exist forever on heaven and earth, so must its Torah stand forever on heaven and earth."

Rabbi Goren is a former Chief Rabbi of Israel.

Help overcome handicaps

THERE ARE many fine centres for the elderly throughout the country offering activity and companionship. But many can't get there. For the elderly handicapped just getting from one place to another is a major challenge, if not impossible.

Due to lack of proper equipment, most of the elderly handicapped sit at home and have very little contact with their peers who are able to get around by themselves.

Recently, we met with our liaison from the Ministry of Social Affairs and decided to allocate some of the Forsake Me Not money to ease this situation a little. Money was given to build ramps for people in wheelchairs and those unable to climb stairs, for transportation to take them to and from the centres and for special equipment in the centres.

The needs of children in institutions are just as great. The Toy Fund money is used to buy special equipment, learning games, toys, clothing and what else the institution might need for them.

There is still much more to be done, but we are "handicapped" by our limited funds. We can only do as much as the generosity of our readers allows.

Send your cheques without delay to The Jerusalem Post Funds, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

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- NIS 200 E.G. Halia, Technology Training Corporation, Tel Aviv.
- NIS 180 Pinhas and Hannah Mandel, Jerusalem.
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- NIS 120 From Naam, on the occasion of his 7th birthday.
- NIS 100 Walter Tannhäuser, Ramat Gan. From an old couple, aged 83 and 80, who know how bitter is the cold, in memory of my parents, Joseph and Claire Fischer of Dallas, TX — Kenneth Fischer, Michmoret.
- NIS 70 Anonymous.
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- NIS 60 Very best wishes to Dottie Rosenblatt, Suk Warburg, a special person who always helps others when in need — Love, the Segal Family.
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- A visit to the museum is educational. But kids enjoy it anyway.

Beverlee Black

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- NIS 15 In loving memory of our mother, Milly Gelb — Doreen Gelb, Tel Aviv.
- NIS 10 In lieu of a birthday present for Katie Flehr, Ra'anana.
- NIS 9 Levy, Enei Brak.
- NIS 5 Mr. and Mrs. S. Rosenstein, Netanya. Loni and Aaron Levin, Netanya.
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- \$50 Anonymous, Gerald J. Bodlander, Arlington, VA. Mr. and Mrs. Louis Jaffe, Philadelphia, PA. Mr. and Mrs. Rudolf C. Bodlander, Riverdale, NY. In memory of Lotie Cohn, Edith and Albert — Mr. and Mrs. Rudolf C. Bodlander, Riverdale, NY (all via P.E.F. — Israel Endowment Fund, Inc.).
- Harry and Marlene Gelbois, Chevy Chase, MD. In memory of our husband and father, Sam Schottland — Marga Schottland, Andrea and Larry Hirsch, Shoshana and Gary Mazal and Deborah and Arnold Samlan.
- \$47 Anthony J. Scimmo, Chicago, IL.
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- \$25 Rabbi and Mrs. Bernard J. Robinson, Glen Ellyn, IL. In honour of our 41st anniversary — Mr. and Mrs. Sidney J. Buckwald, Jerusalem. In honour of Gertrude and Harvey Cohen — Mr. and Mrs. David L. Cohn, South Bend, IN (all via P.E.F. — Israel Endowment Fund, Inc.).
- In memory of Richard and Sophie Ehrlich, of Berlin, Transylvania and Boston.
- Tris and Bud Selby, Arlington, MA. In memory of our dear parents — Sofian and Sally Kellner, Miami Beach, FL. In memory of our parents Jacob and Jennie Goltz and Harriet Garber — Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Goltz, Mt. Laurel, NJ.
- \$18 In memory of our cousin Rose Halia's 80th birthday — Louis and Mona Sherman, Eugene, OR. In honour of my great and wonderful father, Joseph Cyne of Louisa, on his 87th birthday, our love always — Regina, Mary, Adam, Shachar and Katie, Baltimore, MD. A tribute in honour of Dr. Isadore Bertman — Arlene and Asher Tlechin, Farmington Hills, MI. In memory of my parents, Bella and Max Meyer — Tova Rosen, Jerusalem. In memory of my beloved father, Sylvan Harwitz — Elaine H. Malinow, Baltimore, MD. Ruth and Robert Schwartz, Lincolnwood, IL.
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- In memory of our darling granddaughter Sivan Dabche, Kibbutz Ein Tzurim, on her first Hanukkah — Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Goltz, Mt. Laurel, NJ.
- \$18 Kenneth and Elaine Malinow, Baltimore, MD. In honour of the birth of our sister, Noga Miriam — Talia, Efrat and Shimon Hirsch, Chicago, IL.
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SOMEWHERE IN THE dungeons of the Investment Centre there used to be a massive file marked "Casino." From the early Fifties onwards new applications to open a gambling casino, usually in Eilat, were received from eager investors who had Israel's well-being at heart. They were promptly refused, the reason being that the Jewish people had returned to rehabilitate the Land and in the process rehabilitate themselves with honest, productive labour, by the sweat of their brow.

No doubt, some investors argued that pulling slot-machine levers in the desert heat was sweaty labour indeed. To no avail. Zionism and gambling were deemed incompatible and anyway, being Jewish was enough of a gamble.

Those were the days when Mapai MK Moshe Amichai could state with a straight face his concern for the hard-working Israeli "Opening of casinos," he said, "could be ready inspiration to the Israeli to look for not-so-legal means of getting money, not necessarily by honest, productive work in a factory."

But under pressure of events many of the ethical and humanistic tenets of early Zionism were scrapped. Now Israel was to be a green and pleasant land with easy-come, easy-go American greenbacks, dealing in arms and any other fast-buck commodities, with all and sundry. Fortunes were made at the highest level while down the line the rewards of the one-armed bandits were considered a stab in the back to national ideology and, as such, a criminal offence. The stock-exchange gamblers of the early Eighties with the taxpayer reimbursing the gambler's losses, taught us otherwise. Even the croupiers (read bankers) were hardly out-of-pocket.

Another reason for not allowing casino gambling was the fear that it would attract mafia elements. Did we not have sin-city, Las Vegas, as a horrifying example? Prostitution franchised in Nevada like fast-food chains? I, myself, had seen the cool, professional gamblers at the Golden Nugget and other palaces of tinsel-covered splendour as well as the sweaty tinboms flitting with Lady Luck. I had seen in the downtown gaming parlours old ladies in tennis shoes, desperately hugging plastic tubs filled with nickels and quarters, staking their social security coins.

THERE IS AN airconditioned bus that leaves New York from 37th Street and 3rd Avenue every morning at 8:40, stopping at various pick-up points, and for \$19.50 drops you off at Atlantic City's casino-land strung out along the timbered Boardwalk.

Most passengers are regular customers. "Hi, George!" "Hi, Molly! Got your rabbit foot loaded?" Most

Dicey profits

Wim Van Leer

of the travellers are half-past middle age and preponderantly Jewish. For some, who make the trip three or four times a week, Atlantic City is practically a way of life.

Before we alight at the portals of the Tropicana Casino, George informs us that we are leaving at 6:10 p.m. sharp and "don't lose your tickets or your shirt and have a profitable day, you old chisellers."

"He always says that," chuckles an old lady who has taken me, an obvious newcomer, under her wing as she guides me to the counter where I receive \$14 in quarter and half-dollar coins. I figure that if I can milk only \$6 out of the slots, I break even. Ten minutes later the 14 bucks are gone, my gambling instincts are assuaged and the investigative reporter in me takes over.

The Tropicana covers 5,000 square metres of floor space, houses nine restaurants, 515 hotel rooms and suites, and represents an investment of \$102 million. It employs 3,495 employees raking in the cash via 119 gaming tables plus 1,452 slot-machines. So much for the facts.

Outdoors, the senior citizens are doing the social-security shuffle along the seven-kilometre timbered Boardwalk while others ride in slow, electric, open-sided buses or hand-operated wheelchairs. There are many glass shelters along the way to rest their tired, varicose-veined legs. Practically all are out-of-towners or out-of-staters bused in on 1,000 buses daily from places like Newark, New York, Philadelphia and even Washington D.C. This densely populated hinterland furnishes 29.3 million visitors a year to Atlantic City (Las Vegas has only 14.2 million) who let out their gambling passions on the 1,165 gaming tables and 16,183 slot-machines housed in the dozen major casinos totalling 53,000 metres casino space, total investment: \$2.3 billion. The shops along the Boardwalk sport a variety of merchandise in excruciatingly bad taste. In the latter category fall the X-rated T-shirts sporting printed messages mainly of the anal variety ("Save gas - fart in a jar").

THE DECEMBER 1977 Knesset debate revealed the differing Israeli viewpoints on the casino controversy. Said the Likud's Ehud Olmert, "Let us kill this idea even before it hatches. Gambling casinos would not only lure the wrong type of tourist to our shores but would spawn other undesirable industries such as brothels, the protection racket and forced collection by 'goons.'"

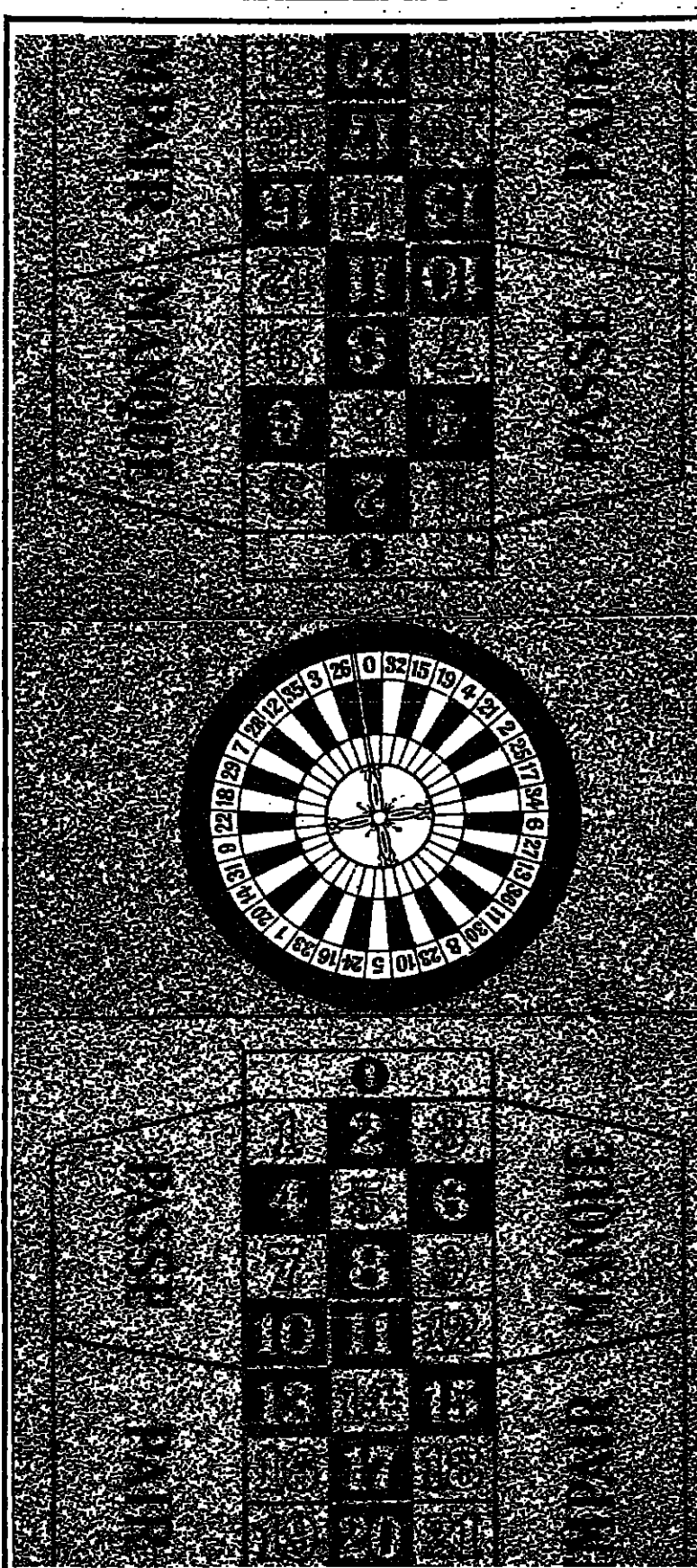
But to Avraham Sharir, our present Minister of Tourism and Justice, the only "wrong type of tourist" was the indigent one. Said he, "Though the Koran forbids gambling, many Saudi, Kuwaiti and Gulf Emirate Moslems stream to Cairo, Damascus and Beirut to gamble in those cities' fabulous casinos. With an eye to the future normalization of relations with our neighbours, we should encourage establishment of gambling casinos in Israel, to attract these people."

I had been told that the Atlantic City casino industry was mafia-free. If true, and I had my doubts, how was this achieved? I went to pick the brains of Richard P. Franz, director of the licensing division of the New Jersey Casino Control Commission.

"Gambling in itself is a harmless occupation which unfortunately attracts the less attractive parts of society," says the energetic, bearded, young, ex-FBI lawyer. "We had a tremendous advantage over Las Vegas in that we, starting later, had a chance to study their set-up and avoid the inherent pitfalls. It took us four years to find the proper legal framework and technical means before we were ready to receive licence applications."

The casino industry affords the mafia many points of entry. From direct mafia ownership, to mafia-connected managers and employees to the rigging of slot-machines and roulette wheels to sleight-of-hand croupiers. On the casino floor, 200 plainclothes inspectors keep an eye on the carefully selected and screened staff, house-trained at the Gaming School. Even the labour unions, bosses as well as conveners, are put through the wringer.

Another field of possible contamination are the hotels attached to each casino, totalling 6,342 rooms. All their suppliers are carefully vet-



ted and one casino was fined \$85,000 this year for incorrectly identifying their laundry contractors. "The fight to keep out crime is an ongoing one," says Mr. Franz, "and, although administered by us, is funded by the industry itself."

The Control Commission in fiscal '85 received \$49m, of which a massive \$41m. was spent on law-enforcement, management and control.

Were operating licences ever refused or withdrawn? Certainly. Hil-

ton New Jersey Inc. was refused a licence as was the Playboy syndicate. The casino exclusion list of "undesirables" contains 116 names, including those of labour union managers. Caesar's Casino was compulsorily closed for one day because of "credit infractions." They were also fined \$60,000 for an improper slot-machine promotion. Credit facilities have been declared illegal since they can lead to extortion. Vigilance indeed.

But ultimately it is the casino floor which lends itself to crime. Take the slot-machines, the poor man's flutter, whose "take" is more than half the total turnover of special interest to me because of my own recent \$14 shortfall. After all, they are not called "one-armed bandits" for nothing. And isn't it universally believed that they are rigged in the casino's favour?

"The slots are not rigged, only programmed," says Mr. Franz. "Isn't that just a euphemism?" I ask.

He goes on to explain that each machine is computer-chip programmed to pay back a minimum of 83 per cent of the take in theory, but, with the safety margin, more like 85 per cent in practice, since any shortfall means a large fine and possibly cancellation of their licence. At random intervals the inspectors remove the chips for verification. On the gaming tables closed-circuit TV cameras monitor the croupiers.

THE NEW JERSEY voters legalized casino gambling in 1976 by referendum on condition that profits and taxes should be used for the benefit of the elderly and handicapped. The money thus collected is used to underwrite real estate tax rebates, home health care, rental assistance, utility payments and transportation costs for the underprivileged. The operating casinos in 1985 paid \$160.2m, of which \$148.6m. were actually spent. Since the first casino opened in 1980, the State has collected \$755.3m. And so we see the gambler's addiction spreading benevolence where most needed.

As I said before, the Jews (including the Israelis) are inveterate gamblers. Any enterprise, be it commercial, industrial, financial or even cultural is a gamble. Even the kibbutzim and moshavim, those bulwarks of social, not to say socialist ideology, are gambles. But in Israel, when the gambler hits an unlucky streak he heaves his losses into the taxpayer's lap. Therefore to create a legitimate outlet where the losses as well as the gains are exclusively his and where the state's share can be earmarked to good purpose, may bring tourism, foreign currency and employment to our shores.

There are dangers, of course. But

by emulating the Atlantic City pattern of safeguards, the establishment of casinos in Eilat or elsewhere may provide a bonanza all round.

But as for the moral argument that the easy-money syndrome was incompatible with Zionism - well, Pinhas Sapir, Ernest Japhet, Arye Dultzin along with tens of thousands of bank share speculators, took care of that. So much ideology has gone down the drain of pragmatism that we might as well drop all pretence and go the whole hog.

Future plans

A recent phone call to the Investment Centre to ascertain whether there had been any application for casino licenses recently, elicited the information that none were at hand but that a high-level ministerial committee had decided to introduce enabling legislation for the casino industry and that they were now looking for a serious investor. A project director of the Ministry of Tourism had already been appointed. I was told, and I was advised to contact Rafi Farber for further information.

The casino project director informed me through his secretary that he was not allowed to talk to me and suggested I speak to the Ministry's PR person, Deborah Genani. Her secretary was most upset by my inquiry and did a Vanunu on me. Where had I obtained the information? Whom had I talked to? How much did I know? No, the spokesperson could not talk to me as she would first have to consult the minister.

Later in the day, the secretary informed me that the answer was "no comment." Further sleuthing merely turned up the information that "since this was a political matter, he had nothing to say." I also found out that the mayor of Eilat had been in town to finalize arrangements, though I discounted this information knowing that the establishment of a casino would require innovative legislation. And there the matter rests for the moment.

Yet, the "light unto the Nations" may soon be reinforced by the twinkling casino lights. You pay your money and you take your choice, ignoring William Blake's warning.

"The whore and gambler by the State/Licensed, build that nation's fate."

Life at the top

David Krivine investigates how much senior management is earning today in the wake of the Bank Leumi scandal.

bonuses are included. (It is not clear whether that was the Bank Leumi board's intention.) In Dovrat's view, the manager of a big company should rate NIS 12,000 a month, plus a reward in the form of a cash prize if he succeeds in making the company more profitable than it was before. If he does not run the company well he should be shown the door.

How big should the cash prize be? It could be four monthly salaries, or six or even 12. The board would decide, and its decision would be influenced by the size of the success. Who would get the bonus? "Only two or three people," says Dovrat. "I would give it to the chap who caused the profit. It may be in some cases, apart from the manager, the chief engineer or the chief financial officer, depending on the case."

So how much could a top manager expect in a good year, including bonuses? He reflected: "Today he could net \$130,000-\$140,000 a year." According to my calculation that comes to NIS 18,000-NIS 19,000 a month. A deputy general manager would get a third less or NIS 8,000 a month plus bonus, making possible a total of NIS 12,000.

The bonus should not be paid unless there is cause for it. One of the abuses in the Bank Leumi episode is that the top people were granted this special award in 1983 when the bank was losing money. Profits later recovered but remained below par, yet bonuses continued to be disbursed.

Return on capital for a bank should be, according to a senior person in the field, 22-23 per cent before tax. In Bank Leumi it was 16.9 per cent in 1985 and 12.2 per cent in the first half of 1986. (At First International it averaged 30 per cent and in Barclays Discount over 50 per cent.) Nevertheless Japhet and Einhorn were awarded six-figure bonuses in each of those years.

The bonus can be a cash grant, fixed after the company's performance figures are available; or it can be an option to buy shares in the company at a fixed price, which can be fruitful if the value of the shares goes up.

How many shares would be offered? According to Dovrat it could be six monthly salaries for the No. 1 man, or stock to the value, say, of NIS 60,000. The No. 2 man would get half that. Usually the whole executive grade gets something and, in a big public company, that could number 35-40 people.

The Histadrut sector is more democratic. Koor Industries offers a bonus to all its workers in the form of a share in profits. Naftali Blumental, formerly chairman and before that

managing director of Koor, recalls that one-third of profits was available for distribution, provided that the bonus did not exceed 10 per cent of the recipient's wage.

WHY HAS THE remuneration of top executives risen so much? A source in the Restaurant offers a formula. Among the rank and file of workers, he says, seniority means a lot. "A beginner may get NIS 500 a month, a veteran doing much the same job will be earning NIS 1,500 or NIS 2,000, through seniority awards and other indirect benefits."

The reason is that works committees favour the old-timers. The company also likes to compensate workers as they get older, for length of service. "A wage rise of 10 per cent may be distributed unequally, with 5 per cent going to the juniors and 10 per cent to the seniors," my interviewee confesses.

From this everything follows. "If a senior worker gets NIS 2,000 a month, it is reasonable for the top manager to get three times as much or NIS 6,000. That is a normal salary for a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) with us," he goes on.

It is normal for heads of government companies too, even those like the Dead Sea Works, with a turnover exceeding \$100m. a year. But exceptions can be found where the general wage level is high.

"In the Israel Electric Corporation, your senior worker will be earning NIS 3,000, so the manager should rate, say, NIS 9,000. In the banks (other than Hapoalim) it may be NIS 4,000 for bank clerks with seniority, and NIS 12,000 for the CEO."

All that sounds logical. The large increments for seniority also explain in part why companies complain of being strangled by their wage bills, while individual workers angrily display before the TV cameras wage slips of no more than NIS 400 or NIS 500 a month.

AT THE END of my interviews, Dovrat's figure of \$120,000-\$140,000 a year for a top manager stuck in my mind. Although it includes a bonus, I have the impression that taking everything into account, it is the sort of remuneration the manager of a large industrial concern can expect.

We are talking of companies with shares registered on the stock exchange. Private companies, which do not have to publish their accounts, are likely to be more generous. The manager of a medium-sized private undertaking could make as much as the manager of a large-sized public company.

If the manager is also owner or part-owner of the firm, his wage plus dividends (or capital appreciation)

can lead to substantial earnings. Successful lawyers and accountants running their own offices build up king-size incomes by charging high fees. Israel is probably not short of individuals pocketing from various sources as much as \$250,000 a year before tax (some of it re-invested in the business, which reduces the tax burden).

Older citizens recall when top managers lived in three-room flats and travelled by bus. Now they inhabit luxurious villas and travel in a Mercedes, with a Peugeot or a Fiat for the wife. How did these high incomes come into being?

The economy has grown and individual companies grow with it. As turnover increased, profits increased proportionately, which benefited the capitalists. Senior salaried men did not want to be left behind. "Japhet was keen to match the earnings of Raphael Recanati, head of the Discount Bank," a person in the financial field told me. "Recanati owned shares and his arrangement was to receive a fixed proportion of the profits. It set a high standard for Japhet to emulate."

Then Japhet had to give a correspondingly high wage to his immediate subordinates. Other kinds of comparison are made. Israel is no longer an isolated province, it is now an active part of the trading world. Israeli companies run joint projects with foreign interests. Levels of living observed abroad set new norms, inflating expectations.

Inside Israel, self-employed lawyers, accountants and consultants impose charges which make the salaried managers, who engage their service (and pay these charges) envious. Most drastic of all was the effect of runaway inflation in the early 1980s. My source in the financial field explains: "The business community lived then in a fantasy world. Profits were reported that had no reality, because the value of money was depreciating. Share values shot up; people believed they were rich."

"An example is the offer of \$150m. made at that euphoric time by Bank Mizrahi for the purchase of the First International Bank. The acquisition was blocked by the Treasury (which disallowed a \$100m. share issue intended to finance the deal) - fortunately for Mizrahi. First International has been sold recently to someone else for the more reliable price of... \$21m."

BUSINESS managers who saw themselves as creating this illusory wealth wanted a share of the affluence. Today the bubble has burst. Profits have sagged and so have the benefits linked to them. The crazy salary excesses at Bank Leumi may have been an overlap from that boom period, when the streets of Israel (at least around the stock exchange) seemed to be paved with gold.

There are reasons other than historic ones for defying the time-honoured Zionist principle of equality and for widening salary differentials. In Dovrat's opinion, "the greatest enemy of performance is



Aharon Dovrat (Israel Sun)

egalitarianism. If you pay the same to all, you get mediocrity."

Is that true of Histadrut and state-owned enterprises? "To the extent that the reward for showing ability, taking responsible initiatives and achieving success falls short of the necessary levels, there is a price to pay. Efficiency drops, even in the Histadrut sector. Sometimes efficiency remains high all the same - for example in Bank Hapoalim - and I really cannot tell you why. There may be special motivation," he admits.

Blumental believes that salaries in Histadrut firms are big enough. He has no respect for the obsession with lucre that characterizes our present epoch: his scale of values remains unchanged from the past. A luxury limousine should cause embarrassment, not pride, he thinks.

He does not entertain his foreign guests in five-star restaurants, he feeds them lunch in the boardroom. "They eat what our canteen supplies," he says with indifference.

adding: "I have never had complaints."

Blumental goes further: "The sky-high fees and salaries you mention are the prerogative of sharp-witted professionals whose speciality is to think up shrewd tricks and clever manipulations. If instead of producing goods under the name of your own company you create a phantom enterprise in Panama, with directors whose addresses are, let us say, in the Cayman Islands, you may be able to avoid paying taxes. For such advice, firms unpocket big sums. We in the Histadrut don't need all that," he concludes scornfully.

"We set limits not only to pay but to allowances, e.g., for use of car and for business trips abroad. We lay down what class our managers should travel, what hotels they should stay at. Huge salaries and huge expense accounts are money thrown away," he states.

Do rich Israelis live in luxury, is that what big salaries are for? He pondered for a long time. "No, I don't think so. The top managers that I know, even in the private sector, do not maintain an extravagant style by international standards. The tradition of modest living still prevails."

"If there is a departure from the old simplicities it takes place in two fields: big expenditure on villas (and their contents) and big expenditure on foreign travel. It is the latter which does most damage." Extended holidays in luxurious places overseas, where the accent is on wealth and display, contribute to upsetting the old codes and the old austerities. Blumental concludes regretfully.

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By Joseph Harvard

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Zedek Bino (Media Images)

Salary to be set by panel

Bino gets top Bank Leumi spot

By PINHAS LANDAU
Post Finance Reporter

"I will not be the captain of the Titanic," said a smiling Zedek Bino yesterday after his appointment to replace Mordechai Einhorn as chief executive officer of Bank Leumi was approved by a special board meeting.

The 45-year-old banker, who made his name by making First International Bank the most profitable bank in the country, told the press that he would be a student for the moment, and learn the details of Leumi's home and foreign operations, before deciding on the steps necessary to snap his new bank out of its current crisis.

Meanwhile, First International Bank announced yesterday that Tel Aviv attorney Yigal Arnon had been named to succeed Bino as the bank's chairman.

Bino was released from his contract with First International by the New York-based investor group headed by Jack Nasser at the urging of senior government officials. Nasser's group, which has a controlling interest in the bank, was told that Bino was the only suitable candidate for the top slot at Leumi.

Bino signed an agreement with

First International in which he undertook not to reveal any of that bank's business strategy, nor to persuade other First International executives to follow him to Leumi.

Asked about his salary, the new CEO said it would be "lower than Einhorn's" — a reference to the \$400,000 annual earnings package that had led to his predecessor's forced resignation. Bino also noted wryly that he would be worse off than before in that he would be working on Fridays, while First International executives work five-day weeks.

Leumi Chairman Meir Heth said Bino's salary would be negotiated by a three-man committee of directors comprising himself, former Bank of Israel deputy governor Prof. Zvi Sussman and Motorola Israel managing director Elisha Shalom. The committee would obtain the approval of the full board for the contract it worked out, and the amount would then be published.

In response to other questions, Bino noted that he regarded his new job as a very tough assignment, but also as a mission. He said he would be meeting with the Leumi works committees next week. He refused

to be drawn into comment on his known opposition to having a "professional" works committee, with full-time members who receive salaries from the bank.

Bino stressed that he did not believe in the dominance of one person over a whole organization, but in the importance of effective teamwork.

Einhorn's resignation as CEO will also mean his resignation as chairman of Leumi's subsidiaries in Britain, France and Switzerland. It seems likely that Heth will replace him, although Einhorn may stay on as a director. At Leumi's main subsidiary in New York, Heth's predecessor as chairman, Eli Hurwitz, will continue as chairman for the time being.

Einhorn has yet to return to the bank the \$180,000 he received in bonuses in 1985-86, as he had promised to do two weeks ago. It is understood that this issue will be resolved as part of the negotiations encompassing Einhorn's severance pay and pension package. These latter come to over \$2 million in a lump sum payment and a pension in excess of \$20,000 per month, according to the terms of Einhorn's contract.

Einhorn is under pressure to

accept more modest amounts, possibly in return for the shortening of the three-year "cooling-off" period stipulated in his contract.

In a separate development, Leumi's Jerusalem area manager, Yosef Pinchasov resigned earlier this week. He thus became the first of more than 20 senior executives who had their pay cut last October to take advantage of the offer made to them to obtain severance and pension terms based on their old salary.

The offer is good until the end of 1987. It is not yet clear how many others will do so in the coming months, but this potential threat represents another problem that will demand the urgent attention of Leumi's new top team of Heth and Bino.

LEUMI

(Continued from Page One)

to be fully explored and explained.

Morton Mandel of Cleveland, a major Jewish fund-raiser and also a member of the board of governors of the Jewish Agency, has also stepped down from the Bank Leumi board. Mandel, through his secretary, refused repeated requests from *The Jerusalem Post* to discuss the issue.

Fleishman noted that some American Jewish fund-raisers do not want to "enter the fray for lots of reasons, among them because they feel that to open up the wounds at this point will damage their fund-raising campaigns. Still others do not have any notion of what the Jewish Agency and WZO arrangements are all about."

Irving Kessler, executive vice president of the United Israel

Appeal, said in an interview that the Bank Leumi scandal had not really had all that much impact in the U.S.

He pointed out that Dulzin had been involved in Bank Leumi because of his position in the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Colonial Trust, and not because of his Jewish Agency "hat."

The board of governors of the Jewish Agency is scheduled to meet in Jerusalem at the end of this month. Kessler said that a source of greater concern to the American participants was the whole issue of religious pluralism in Israel and the denial of equal rights to Reform and Conservative Jews. Compared to that, he said, the Bank Leumi affair had not generated much passionate debate.

Dumping charges on Shamir's U.S. agenda

By KEN SCHACHTER
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. — Prime Minister Shamir will raise the issue of a hotly contested dumping case involving Koor Industries and its impact on Israel-U.S. trade, during his visit to Washington next week, a Manufacturers Association official says.

Gad Propper, chairman of the association's foreign trade committee, said Shamir will voice concerns that if the U.S. imposes punitive duties on Koor's product, the action could undermine the Free Trade Area (FTA) agreement that lowers tariffs between the countries.

The year-and-a-half old accord has been widely praised as a step toward strengthening bilateral economic ties. But industrialists here fear the case involving a Koor subsidiary could clear the way for U.S. Commerce Department action against other Israeli exports.

Propper warned that unless a settlement is found, Israel may reassess its position towards the accord.

"If this is going to be the U.S. position, we'll have to reconsider our whole attitude toward the FTA," he said. The options open to Israel would be to scrutinize U.S. imports for indications of unfair trade practices or, Propper said, as a last resort, to scrap the FTA.

"We regard this as a national issue," he said. "We think it should be handled by the top ministers."

At issue is whether the Koor subsidiary, the Middle East Tube Co. (Metco), received government subsidies and sold oil pipeline in the U.S. at prices below those charged for such a product in Israel.

If subsidies are found to have been used, the Commerce Department imposes countervailing duties designed to equalize competition with U.S. manufacturers. If it's found that the product was sold at below-market prices, an anti-dumping fee is assessed. Both penalties, however, are contingent on a finding that U.S. producers did, or could, suffer "material injury" because of the imported goods.

Thus far, Commerce Department hearings have found that the Metco pipeline should be saddled with anti-dumping fees and countervailing duties, each about 12 per cent. A ruling on material injury is expected in about a week. Under U.S. law, which allows oil pipeline exports from countries other than Israel to be considered in the judgement, little chance is seen for Israel to escape the material injury finding.

William Brew, economic counselor at the U.S. Embassy here, acknowledged that the Metco case — the first dumping case brought against an Israeli industrial product — "could be a precedent setter" even though each hearing is taken on a case-by-case basis. That is because numerous other Israeli companies would have been eligible for the same government subsidies as Metco received.

U.S. policy makers stress that the fair-trade laws are designed to create a "level playing field" for all competitors and give no nation special treatment.

Propper said the FTA should supersede U.S. fair-trade laws. "We regard the FTA as stronger than U.S. international trade laws," Propper said. "Our whole attitude toward the FTA is that America should not use laws as practised against other countries because Israel is the only country in the world with an FTA with the U.S."

Brew, however, rejected the suggestion that the FTA take precedence over anti-dumping rules. He noted that the FTA specifies that it does not affect laws already in existence. He acknowledged that Israel

has phased out some loans that could be viewed as subsidies under U.S. trade regulations. In the long run, he said, the whole issue may become moot as Israeli capital markets are opened and companies stop seeking subsidies.

Koor, an industrial giant affiliated with the Histadrut, is not a member of the Manufacturers Association. But Rachel Shilo, the company's spokeswoman, observed that Israeli industry "was in great shock" upon learning of the findings of the Commerce Department. "We're not alone in this fight," she said.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices:

General Share Index	117.83 +0.20%
Non-Bank Index	136.46 +0.57%
Arrangement	42.15 +0.04%
Insurance	122.96 +0.39%
Commerce, Services	129.67 +1.07%
Real Estate	131.12 +0.14%
Industrials	137.70 +0.49%
Textiles	131.25 +0.34%
Metals	125.58 +0.02%
Electronics	147.89 +0.72%
Chemicals	131.92 +0.32%
Industrial Invest.	157.54 +0.09%
Investment Cos.	149.53 +1.19%
General Bond Index	110.65 +0.24%
Index-linked Bonds	111.35 +0.30%
Fully-linked	113.24 +0.34%
Partially-linked	108.40 +0.24%
Dollar-linked Bonds	104.41 +0.07%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	107.38 +0.25%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	109.36 +0.23%
Long-term 5+ yrs	112.12 +0.25%

Turnovers:

Shares - total	NIS 33,875,300
Arrangement	NIS 14,784,100
Non-bank	NIS 19,091,200
Bonds - total	NIS 6,961,800
Index-linked	NIS 4,598,100
Dollar-linked	NIS 2,363,800
Treasury Bills	NIS 26,076,300

Share Movements:

Advances	135 (232)
of which 5% +	20 (53)
"buyers only"	2 (2)
Declines	145 (60)
of which 5% +	31 (4)
"sellers only"	1 (0)
Unchanged	109 (102)
Trading Halt	33 (28)

Bond Market Trends:

Index-linked:	Mixed to 1-3%
3% fully-linked	

4.25% fully-linked

80% linked	Rises to 3%
Double-linked:	Stable
Dollar-linked:	Stable
Admon	Mixed to 1%
Rimon	Mixed to 1%
Gilboa	Stable
For. Curr. denominated	Slightly mixed
Treasury Bills (annual yield)	21.80-32.95%

Arrangement yields:

IDB ord.	16.91%
Union 0.1	16.97%
Discount A	17.00%
Mizrahi r.	17.00%
Hapoelzim r.	16.89%
General A	16.89%
Leumi stock	16.89%
Fin. Trade 1	16.89%

SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name Price Volume % change

Commercial Banks (not part of "arrangement")

Maritime	1565	6393	
General non-arr.	28400	322	-
First Int'l	5025	1791	-1.0
FBI	8155	1704	-

Commercial Banks (part of "arrangement")

IDB r.	89050	2393	-
Union 0.1	86200	124	-
Discount	113500	1258	-
Mizrahi	36500	4218	-
Hapoelzim r.	80500	8030	-0.1
General A	154650	63	-0.1
Leumi 0.1	38400	10903	-
Fin. Trade	51000	8	-0.4

Mortgage Banks

Leumi Mort. r.	11200	257	-
Dev. Mort.	4050	1190	+3.8
Mizrahi r.	4300	1761	+1.2
Tefahot r.	21200	287	+2.5
Merav r.	9000	408	-7.0

Financial Institutions

Agrie C	no trading		
Cent. Dev. DD	no trading		
Clal Leasing 0.1	23550	61	-

Insurance

Asrat 0.1 r	1700	410	-7.8
Hasaneh r.	1008	25096	+5.8
Phoenix r.	7700	63	+2.0
Harnishmar	2650	285	+3.9
Menorah 1	7130	1079	-
Sahar r.	10290		-
Zion Hold. 1			-

Trade & Services

Mair Ezra	1398	3435	-
Supersol 2	10950	813	-
Dalek r.	4760	5381	+2.1
Lightrage	19000	20	-
Cold Storage	1115	3001	-2.2
Dan Hotels	2030	654	-1.5
Yarden Hotel	2839	197	+3.2
Hilon 1	no trading		
Team 1	1095	27327	+0.9

Real Estate, Building and Agriculture

Azorim	1143	8969	-1.0
Eilon	532	24824	-
Africa Isr. 0.1	54200	194	+0.6
Dankner	5700	335	-3.1
Prop. & Bldg.	5100	1744	-
Bayvite 0.1	6370	1201	-
ILDC r.	84900	126	-
Rassco r.	6450	494	-
Mahadim	11400	480	-0.6
Hadarim	2237	7019	-

Industrials

Dubek b	6510	2888	+4.8
Pr-Za 1	17000	125	+4.9
Sunfrost	22500	488	-
Elite	843	11099	+3.9
Argaman r.	16650	84	-2.6
Delta G 1	4380	1223	+5.3
Maquetta 1	4870	286	-1.6
Eagle 1	28400	300	-1.9
Polgat	4900	1174	-1.5
Schoellerma	15540	225	-1.0
Rogovin	3010	1889	+5.6
Urdan 0.1 r	8100	355	-1.2
Is. Can Co. 1	3670	2898	+2.8
Zion Cables	2498	1179	-2.4
Pecker Steel	20740	79	+3.7
Elbit	560500	77	+0.3

Elron

Arit	36998	421	+1.9
Clal Electronics	3143	15048	+5.0
Spectronix 1	3085	1708	+2.3
T.A.T. 1	1834	726	-2.9
Ackerstein 1	1210	6401	+3.8
Agan 5	18800	182	-1.1
Alliance	2250	377	-4.2
Dexter	3280	236	+0.3
Fertilisers	5100	36	+1.0
Haifa Chem.	771	13160	+3.5
Teva r.	12000	3425	-0.0
Dead Sea r.	3612	10238	-1.9
Petrochem.	805	26376	-8.2
Neca Chem.	7290	491	-
Frutarom	16001	102	-
Hadera Paper	464000	148	+8.7
Central Trade	11822	720	-
Koor p.	9000000	0	-2.2
Clal Inds.	2825	15157	+0.4

Investment Companies

IDB Dev. r.	7840	1791	-
Eliron	17750	498	+3.1
Avit 1	338	14428	+2.1
Gahelet	1470	515	-6.4
Israel Corp. 1	18150	3705	+2.5
Wolfson 1 r	133000	1	+2.3
Hapoelzim Inv.	11770	1965	+10.0
Discount Invest.	4530	3648	-
Mizrahi Invest.	31209	31	+1.0
Clal 10	1585	16827	+2.0
Landsec 0.1	2765	567	-
Pama 0.1	13195	115	-0.0

Oil Exploration

Paz Oil Expl.	27650	169	-
J.O.E.L.	4775	1062	-0.5

Abbreviations:

s.o. sellers only	b buyer
b.o. buyers only	r registered

ISRAELI DATA

ISRAELI MONEY MARKETS

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES
PRIME BORROWING RATE: 1.58% per month
Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)

Last Updated	Tapas	Pakam 7-Day	Pakam 30-Day
LEUMI	12.2	8-18.25%	12-28.75%
HAPOELIM	27.1	8-17.00%	12-20.50%
DISCOUNT	17.12	8-16.20%	14-18.50%
MIZRAHI	1.12	8-17%	6-19.50%
FIRST INT'L	13.1	10-16%	11-17.7%

Rates vary according to size of deposit.
(Tapas: demand deposit paying daily interest.
Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 58 days.)

PATAH — FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES

MINIMUM DEP	3-MONTHS	6-MONTHS	12-MONTHS
USD (\$100,000)	5.625	5.625	5.750
STG (£10,000 pounds)	9.375	9.375	9.125
DMK (100,000 marks)	3.125	3.000	3.250
SFR (50,000 francs)	2.625	2.750	2.750
YEN (3,000,000 yen)	2.625	2.500	2.500

Rates vary according to size of deposit and are subject to change.

SHEKEL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES (February 12)

		CHEQUES AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rep. Rates
		Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
Currency basket		1.6890	1.6900			1.6893
U.S.A. Dollar		1.9380	1.9418	1.55	1.63	1.6079
Deutschmark		0.8804	0.8915	0.86	0.90	0.8858
Pound Sterling		2.4314	2.4618	2.37	2.47	2.4448
French Franc		0.2642	0.2675	0.25	0.27	0.2659
Japanese Yen	100	1.0400	1.0530	1.02	1.06	1.0463
Dutch Florin		0.7807	0.7904	0.76	0.80	0.7848
Swiss Franc		1.0397	1.0527	1.01	1.06	1.0465
Swedish Krone		0.2480	0.2491	0.24	0.25	0.2476
Norwegian Krone		0.2285	0.2314	0.22	0.23	0.2299
Danish Krone		0.2330	0.2360	0.23	0.24	0.2344
Finnish Mark		0.3516	0.3560	0.34	0.36	0.3538
Canadian Dollar		1.1885	1.2034	1.16	1.21	1.1959
Australian Dollar		1.0551	1.0784	1.03	1.08	1.0713
S. African Rand		0.7710	0.7807	0.50	0.60	0.7744
Belgian Franc		0.4205	0.4258	0.41	0.43	0.4281
Austrian Shilling		1.2514	1.2670	1.22	1.28	1.2591
Italian Lira	1000	1.378	1.2533	1.20	1.27	1.2445
Jordanian Dinar		—	—	0.62	0.75	0.6829
Egyptian Pound		—	—	0.82	0.87	0.8421
Israeli Sheqel		1.8145	1.8372	—	—	1.8254

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Unconscionable government

THERE ARE good reasons for the Labour Alignment to bring the government down. MK Simha Dinitz said this week, but not the right conditions.

This just about sums it all up. The conditions are indeed not right, or at least not ripe. The Alignment's chances of setting up a narrow coalition in place of the present national unity government appear rather smaller than the Likud's. As for early elections, the Likud majority under Yitzhak Shamir is not particularly keen on them, now that Mr. Shamir is premier, and the Alignment may not have the votes needed to dissolve the Knesset.

If early elections are nevertheless decreed, there is no assurance that the outcome will be much different from what it was in 1984. In the meantime, during the pre-election hiatus, financial assistance considered vital for kibbutzim and Histadrut-affiliated bodies, though approved by the Treasury, may be left hanging fire. The result could be disastrous.

A new government that would be led by the Likud would, of course, be inclined not only to neglect the "enemy's" hard-luck enterprises but to actually tighten the screws on them.

But... for this government to continue another two years on the course so clearly charted this past week would be worse than unconscionable. What Mr. Shamir - now a relative moderate among Herut leaders - apparently has in mind is that consideration will be given, for the remainder of his stewardship, to the economic interests of Alignment constituents, provided that similar demands by the Likud and its ideological allies are also duly served; but that the Alignment's peace programme will effectively be put on ice.

It will be political suicide for the Alignment to meekly bow to Mr. Shamir's prescription.

For a year and a half now Mr. Peres has been pushing his peace initiative, launched when he was premier, for an international forum, or conference, as accompaniment to direct peace talks with the Arab states, certainly with Jordan, which will not otherwise talk peace. If Mr. Shamir, as foreign minister, thought Mr. Peres's idea was absurd, foolish and mad - adjectives he now publicly attaches to it - the one honourable recourse for him would have been to fight it all the way, not resting content with the fact that the government did not take a formal resolution in its favour.

Dishonourably, he waited for the rotation to take effect last October before beginning to throw Mr. Peres's commitments in Israel's name - on the international conference to President Hosni Mubarak, for example, in Alexandria last September - into the trash can.

Mr. Peres's restraint in the face of the provocation has been remarkable. The vice premier and foreign minister has not even pointed out to Mr. Shamir, the belated champion of the Camp David accords, that Arab-Israeli negotiations "under appropriate auspices" - with a view to achieving a comprehensive peace - are called for in Resolution 338 which, together with Resolution 242, was declared at Camp David the bedrock of such a peace. Direct negotiations under appropriate auspices - and not a pro-Arab big-power *diktat* - is what Mr. Peres has plainly been after.

For some reason the foreign minister believes he still has a mandate to push his idea. In a formal sense, that is true; but no serious statesman will engage him in a discussion of it any longer.

A shrewd politician, the premier is willing to allow Mr. Peres to keep riding his personal hobbyhorse, as he terms it, on the understanding that he - Mr. Peres - will not be pulling the government's cart along with him. Fun and games, in other words, is one thing, but the serious business of policy-making and execution - which to the premier means preventing, at all cost, any reversion of Eretz Yisrael - is something else again.

There is no place for the Alignment in a government tied to such a hallucinatory anti-peace programme. Since the conditions are not right for defection, its price may in the short term be high for the Alignment. But there does not seem to be an alternative to it.

Anti-Judaic religious politicians

Ya'acov Morris

ALLOWING FOR personal bias, most historians tend to agree that the Sadducees and Pharisees of the Second Temple period anticipated Martin Luther by many centuries. The Sadducees, representing a theocratic priesthood backed by the wealthy, sought to maintain both their religious and their secular domination. The Pharisees, the first Jewish "Protestants," waged what ultimately became a successful struggle against them to separate "church" and "state."

Unfortunately, the essence of this struggle is often lost in our history lessons by being subordinated to the central thesis that it was mainly responsible for the downfall of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. It is a thesis that is often called to mind in contemporary Israel, particularly by the political right, both as a weapon against the country's democratic and liberal forces and especially as a justification of the attempts of our modern "Sadducees" to impose their theocratic will upon the "Pharisee" majority.

The historical comparison is by no means far-fetched, for we have witnessed in this past decade a growing threat to Israel's democracy from an emergent autocratic religious right that has used what it considers to be Judaism to reduce what were called the religious moderates into almost passive submission.

It is not only the imperfections of Israel's democratic system that have made this possible. The demographic nature of the mass immigration from North African and Middle Eastern countries - lands in which a primitive, absolutist Islam nurtured in self-defence a less primitive, absolutist Judaism - must also be seen as an important contribution to the change. It is the background to the emergence of Shas, the political counterpart and competitor of the Ashkenazi Aguda.

Of no less consequence in the distortion of Israel's democratic essence has been the declining intellectual and spiritual eschatology of its socialist and liberal secular and religious forces. These brought the state into being and the state, paradoxically, submerged their voluntarist function in order to meet the demands of mass integration and the new economic and technological requirements of survival.

The outcome, certainly in a political sense, has been the advent of a national coalition government in which Labour and Liberals have paid the extremely bitter price of losing their very identities. In the process, their values have become subordinated to the unilateral obsession of maintaining power for its own sake, a type of "Pharisaic" retreat in the face of a "Sadducean" onslaught.

The consequent overall moral de-

cline, reflected in almost daily instances of corruption on the part of members of the hierarchy and manifest cynicism among the population, is today a greater threat to Israel's existence than any of its enemies outside. In short, neither "religion" nor "socialism" counteracts this development, notwithstanding the moral and ethical premises upon which both were originally based. On the contrary, their "practitioners" have accelerated the degenerative process.

THIS ARTICLE is concerned with what is termed religion in Israel. While attention is constantly focused on the political role of the religious right, its philosophical and "theological" basis is rarely challenged. It is as though those who have a different view of Judaism are fearful that heaven will be barred to them, since it has already fallen to the domination of the haredim.

Moreover, Jewish socialism, which based itself upon the values of the prophets, and whose spirituality was manifest in finding a synthesis between man's relationship to God and to man within society, has too passively accepted the definition by its enemies of being "secular," and hence has abandoned much too easily the field of philosophical or ideological conflict with the contemporary "Sadducees."

Yet it is in this very synthesis that our extreme religious right represents a violation of two fundamental precepts of Judaism: the sanctity of the individual, and the individual's responsibility to society.

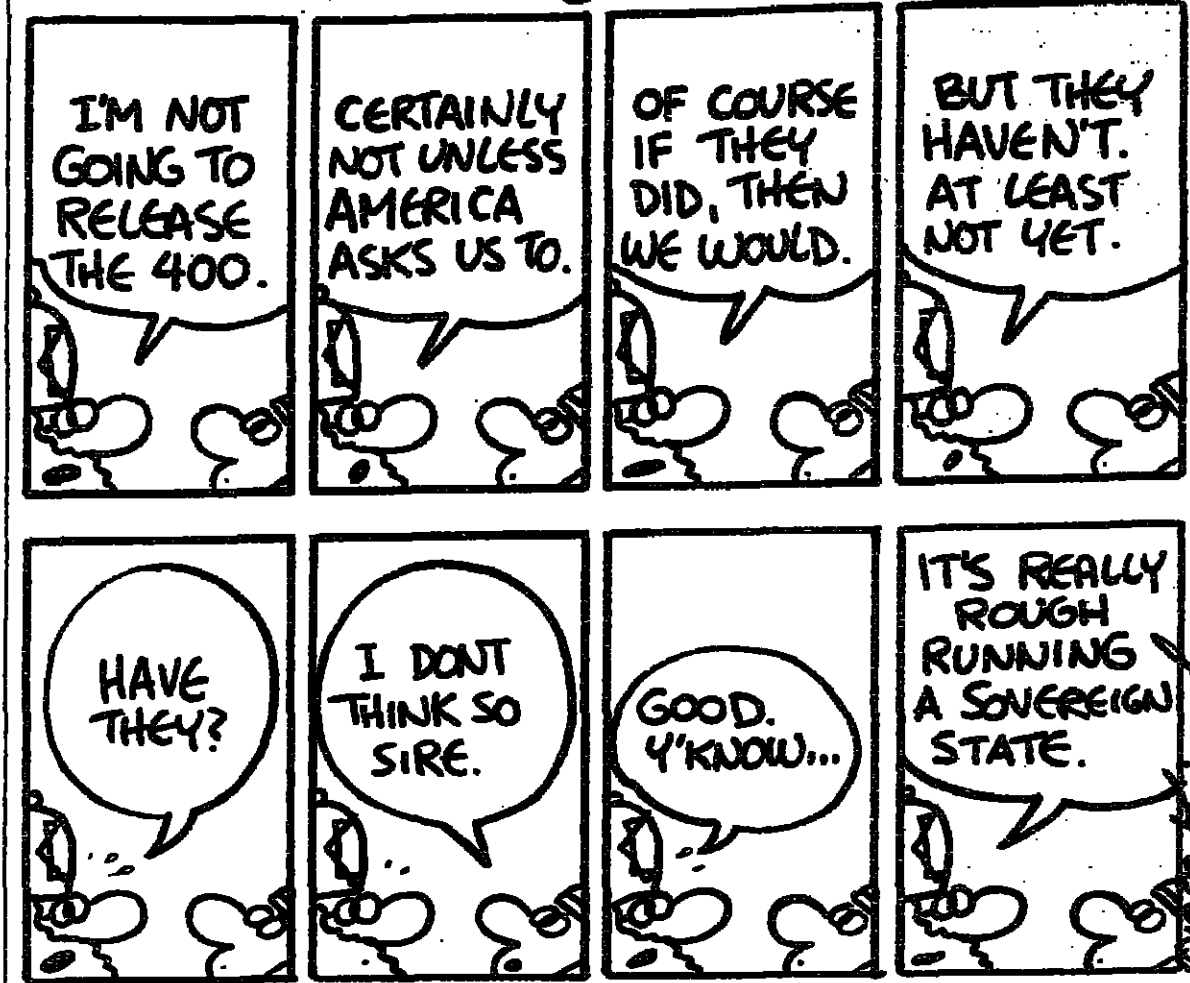
In our first 1,200 formative years as a people in its own homeland, Judaism was a dynamic, evolving force, constantly attempting to blueprint its ethical and moral precepts in terms of society itself.

Abraham smashed the idols, asserting the primacy of the spirit over matter. Moses freed the slaves and brought to the people the rule of law. The prophets raised the banner of social justice, not only siding with the poor but advocating agrarian reform and the world's first social welfare programme.

This dynamism was halted by our loss of sovereignty and dispersion and the severing thereby of man's relationship to God from his relationship to society. The birth of modern Israel represents the first opportunity of the Jewish people and Judaism to regain this spiritual synthesis, this creative dynamism of an evolving, spiritually impregnated existence.

IT IS AGAINST this background that the performance of those who claim to be the sole and authentic upholders of Judaism in Israel today can be examined. In contrast to our ancient history, when judges and prophets were held to be divinely

The Friday Dry Bones



inspired, the role of the priesthood was that of functionaries of the Temple and of religious services. The kings overruled them as the secular leaders of the people, but care was taken to dissociate them from "divinity." The usurpation of secular power by the priesthood was met head-on and settled by the Pharisees, and the priesthood was never again permitted to restore the role of the Sadducees.

That religion in modern Israel is organized on a political basis, in order to attain power over the secular as well as religious life of its society, represents a retrogression long outlawed by historic Judaism.

The very existence of religious political parties in contemporary Israel should have been challenged from the outset, and should be challenged today, as anti-Judaic. We don't need to look to Martin Luther for our lessons regarding the separation of church and state; there is enough in the history of Judaism for our inspiration.

This should not be confused with a concept of the separation within the life of the individual between the spiritual and the secular. Both unite and synthesize through their community of values, ethics and morality, and this is why such superficial counterposing of the "secular" and the "religious" is so misleading. This, in fact, is what distinguished Jewish socialism, and particularly its pioneer Israel manifestation, from all other forms of socialism. Unfortunately, it does not distinguish its religion.

There is, however, a difference between the synthesis of secular and religious values in man and that of organized secular and religious institutions and parties and their function within a state. In the case of Agudat Yisrael and those even further to the religious right, there are groups both within the state and opposed to its very existence.

Their anti-Zionism - which literally means that they are against the reconstitution of the Jewish people in its ancestral and spiritual homeland - is in itself anti-Judaic. They have never, however, attempted to explain the paradox between opposing the existence of Israel as a

state and their role in its government, and even in its society.

Their "state," in fact, consists of the yeshivot, which are more important to them than any other aspect of Israel. How else would Minister Avraham Shapira have the effrontery to use his position as chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee to counterpose his claim for a hand-out to the yeshivot and "religious institutions" to that of the United Kibbutz Movement for a loan, as his price for not blocking the passage of the state budget?

The real question, of course, is of what value are Shapira's yeshivot, not only to Israel's physical existence - which is obviously of no importance as such to the religious right - but to its spiritual existence as well?

Leaving aside the "spiritual" influence on Israel's young men and women of the 17,000 or more yeshiva inmates obtaining freedom from serving in this country's armed forces, the question may be put as to what contribution all these yeshivot have made to the advancement of creative Judaism, a Judaism responsive to the completely new and revolutionary development of a contemporary sovereign Jewish society. With their mechanical memorizing of hallowed texts, their dialectical acrobatics around the meaning of meanings, their worship of the letter of the Law, they contribute nothing to the building or defence of Israel; they contribute less to its spiritual, ethical or moral present or future.

In the name of maintaining the unity of the Jewish people, they alienate by their monopoly in Israel of the authentic definition of who is a Jew the majority of Jews in the United States. They are a menace to the development of modern medicine and surgery in their opposition to the transplant of organs and to post mortem which may save the lives of others.

There is scarcely a field of human or national existence in which they fail to act as a barrier to progress.

MOST SENSITIVE of all, and most vulnerable in terms of Israel's democracy, is Jerusalem, the national capital and spiritual heart of the country. Although in Bnei Brak and

elsewhere are other concentrations of haredim, Jerusalem is their main target. In their bid to "capture" the Capital, they pursue two main lines of physical attack. One is to take over complete areas by attempting, through purchase or pressure, to insinuate themselves into whole suburbs and communities. The second, reminiscent of the inter-religious struggle of Northern Ireland, is like the Catholics there, to overwhelm the "secular" community numerically by childbirth.

This proliferation of haredi population can hardly be attributed to concern with Israel's numerical defence disadvantage or the increase in the country's productive power.

The wonder is the rapidity with which Israel has got itself into this state, how it has permitted so swift a change in the quality of its life. There are many answers. Two, however, cannot be gainsaid. One is the betrayal of democracy by concessions on the part of the "secular" political parties; the other is the sheeplike behaviour of the so-called "moderate" religious groups which at one time at least attempted to be a bridge between the secular and religious sections of the community. They had long abdicated this role when pressed by the extremists against a rigid and dogmatic religious wall.

The time has now come for the majority of Israel's citizens to stop the rot. While they cannot import enough Conservative and Reform Jews to break the Orthodox monopoly, they can at least sweep aside the country's present electoral system, which permits and facilitates the endless process of political extortion and blackmail by Israel's minority and most reactionary groups.

It is also high time an offensive was launched by those who appreciate the difference between a pagan degeneration of Judaism and its true substantive and creative vocation and development. The challenge must be ideological as well as through a more democratic electoral system.

Ya'acov Morris is a writer and a former member of the diplomatic service.

Readers' Letters - page 11

(Continued from Page One)
tical arena. But at the time, the Likud, eager to reach rotation and the premiership, muted its opposition. Now, having attained the premiership, and following the partial concretization of the idea in the Peres-Mubarak summit in Alexandria last September, the Likud has felt both able and compelled to put its foot down publicly.

What this means is that, more than ever, the unity government speaks with two voices on the major forward-looking element of its foreign policy. This in a sense, is a formal translation of the ever-lattent divide between the two parties over territorial compromise as the basis for any future peace settlement. (For ultimately, negotiations with Jordan, whatever the framework, will focus on some form of territorial compromise or they will be a non-starter).

The Likud leaders, however, believe that as Peres has chained himself to the concept of direct negotiations with Jordan, albeit wrapped in the sugared coating of an international gathering, the problem of the international political issue will only come to a head with "actualization." In other words, only when Jordan announces its readiness (rather than Peres announcing Jordan's readiness, as is his wont recently) to

BRINK

enter into direct talks with Israel, and only when a date for the convocation of the international meet is set or appears to be set, will the Likud and Labour face the moment of truth. Then one side or the other will bring the matter up for cabinet decision and the loser - Likud or Labour - will have to decide whether to leave the government and/or go to elections.

This thinking, consciously or unconsciously, takes little or no note of two factors: firstly, that Labour is meanwhile expected to live with a prime minister who not only opposes an international conference but is busy telling all and sundry, including the Reagan administration, about the evils of such a gathering and how wrong his foreign minister is.

Secondly, the Shamir-Likud assault on the international conference is also a personal assault on Peres, with whom the concept is now identified.

Likud stalwarts believe that Peres will not allow his personal grievances to sway his political judgement; he will not decide on a coalition break-up until cool reason rules that it is politic. And to go to elections now or soon about something so vague and potentially hazardous as an international peace conference, says the Likud.

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would probably ill-serve Labour electorally.

Perhaps. But this line of reasoning presupposes a static situation. The imminence of the Herut Party's convention, inexorably prompting the various contenders for the leadership to excesses of ideological rectitude, and the fluid Middle East political scene, in which Jordan could still provide at least minor surprises, renders the situation eminently non-static. Peres will no doubt be subjected to further verbal assault by the Likud; and he may yet receive a helping hand from Jordan. And Moscow, with an unpredictable Gorbachev, might yet offer Jerusalem plans - Jewish emigration and the re-establishment of ties - that will push all the parties involved towards a multi-national meet in Geneva. Any or all of these factors could force Peres to the brink, and bring down the government.

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